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THE DABISTÁN,

OR

SCHOOL OF MANNERS.

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THE

DABISTÁN,

OR

SCHOOL OF MANNERS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

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BY

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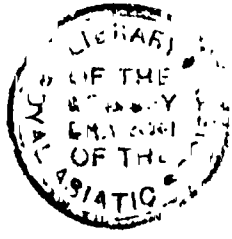
EDITED, WITH A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, BY THE LATTER.

VOLUME III.



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THE DABISTÁN,

OR

SCHOOL OF MANNERS.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE SA DIKI'AHS.[1]

These sectaries are followers of *Musaylima*. The people of *Islam*, "the true faith," qualify *Musay-*

[1] In the before quoted Memoir of H. T. Colebrooke (*As. Res.*, vol. VII p. 342), we read, as taken from the account of Núrukah of Shúster, what follows: "The *Sadiki'yahs* are a tribe of the faithful in Hindustan; "pious men, and disciples of *Sayyad Cabi'ru 'ddin*, who derived his "descent from Ismâil, son of Imâm Jáfer. This tribe is denominated "*Sadiki'yahs*, by reason of the 'sincere' (sádik) call of that Sayyad. "Although that appellation have, according to received notions, a "seeming relation to Abú bekr, whose partisans give him this title; yet "it is probable that the sect assumed that appellation for the sake of "concealment. However no advantage ever accrues to them from it: "on the contrary, the arrogant inhabitants of *Hind*, who are *Hinduis*, "being retainers of the son of the impious *Hind* (meaning Hinda, the "mother of Mâviyeh), have discovered their attachment to the sect of "Shiahs, and have revived against them the calumnies which, five hundred "years before, they broached against the Ismâilahs. They maliciously

lima as "the Liar."[1] These sectaries call themselves also *Rahmániah*; as they gave to Musaylima the title of *Rihm*, "commiserator;" they assert, that the words: *Bismilla hirrehma nirrehím*, "in the name of "the bountiful and merciful God," relate to him, that is: a God is the merciful Musaylima. Muhammed Kulí, the man so named, contracted friendship with the author of this work in the year of the Hejira 1053 (A. D. 1643) at the holy sepulchre.[2] After

"charge them with impiety. Such is indeed their ancient practice. . . . . — In short, nearly thirty thousand persons of this "sect are settled in provinces of Hindustan, such as Multan, Lahóre, "Délhi, and Gujrát. Most of them subsist by commerce; they pay the "fifth part of their gains to the descendants of *Sayyad Cabír*, who are "their priests: and both preceptor and pupil, priest and layman, all are "zealous Shiáhs. . . . . "

It will be evident that the author of the Dabistán speaks of a sect which bears the same name, but which owns another founder and another Koran, although possessing some tenets common to other sects.

[1] Musaylima once professed the creed of Muhammed, before whom he appeared as one of the deputies sent by the tribe Henaifa, when they offered their submission to the prophet. But in A. D., 631 Musaylima declared himself a prophet in the country of Yamáma, and gained a great number of followers; he dared even offer himself in a letter to Muhammed, as a partner of his prophetic mission, but received a refusal, with this address: "From Muhammed, the Apostle of God, to Musay-"lima, the Liar."

[2] مشهد, *Mashhad*, signifies properly any place where a martyr has been buried, and is particularly applied to the burying places of Imáms, such as that of Kerbela, near Kufa, before mentioned. But the town of Tús, in Khorassan, has almost exchanged its proper name for that of *Mashhad*. "sepulchre," because the Imám Risa, son of Mussa al Khadem, was buried near that place. Is it that which is meant above? Al-

Raz. ٢٠

some friendly intercourse, he said: "To a true be-
"liever, it is necessary to acknowledge Musaylima as
"the bringer of the true intelligence and a prophet;
"and if one does not so, his faith is not the true."
For a confirmation of this assertion, he adduced as evidence some verses of the Koran, and said: "Mu-
"saylima was in the divine mission a partner of the
"dignity of the prophetic asylum, Muhammed, in
"the same manner as Harun was with Moses."
He further maintained: "Two prophets are required
"as being witnesses, and evidence wants two per-
"sons, and if there be more, so much the better."
He then highly extolled his virtues and miracles, such as his calling the moon until she came down and before the eyes of his companions sat down on his lap;[1] as his going to dry trees, and praying so,

though the author says (Vol. II. p. 364), that he was in 1033 (1643) in Lahore, which is about 1200 miles distant from Tús, his visiting, the same year, both towns, is far from impossible. In the same year, we find him in Kirtpúr, in the mountainous part of the Panjab (*ibid.*, p. 416), and in Kabul, which is on the road from Lahore to Tus.

[1] The moon acts a conspicuous part in the prestigious exhibitions of magicians. There appeared during the reign of Muhammed Mahadi, the third khalif of the Abbasides, from the year of the Hejira 158 to 169 (A. D. 774-785), in the town of Nekhshab, in Khorassan, an impostor, called *Hakem ben Hasham*, whose surname was *Sazindah mah*, "moon-
"maker." Having but one eye, he used to hide his deformity under a silver veil, or mask, whence he was called *al Mokanna*, "covered by a
"veil." So concealed, he pretended nobody could bear the effulgence of his face, like that of God himself. At the head of a numerous party, he was not without difficulty reduced by the ruling Khalif. Hakem's par-

that they all became green; as having, when a new-born child, given testimony of his prophetic gift, so that a class of noble persons professed their faith in his divine mission. That man besides said, that the Koran is Muhammed's miracle, by which he bound the tongue of emulation to all the eloquent men of Arabia; and in like manner the Almighty God sent to Musaylima a book, which they call the first *Fárúk*, "separator;" this also became a binder of tongues to the eloquent; and no man, except Muhammed and Musaylima, is capable of understanding these two books, the reading of which affords salvation in this and in the other world; but to expound them is a great crime. The Almighty God bestowed upon Musaylima the favor of another necessary and venerable book, entitled "the second Fárúk," to the commands of which it is indispensable to conform our actions. What Muhammed had revealed is all truth, and Musaylima, too, chose his way in that direction; if some precepts of the latter and his celestial book are contrary to the statements of Muhammed, it is because Musaylima survived Muhammed[1] (upon whom be peace!), and cancelled some

ticular mode of suicide will be adverted to in a note at the end of chapter VIII.

[1] Muhammed died on the 8th June, A. D. 632; Musaylima did not long survive him. He was killed, with ten thousand of his soldiers, under the reign of Abu-bekr, in A. D. 632, in a battle against Khaled, the son of Valid, who was sent with an army against him. Although the party

of them by the command of God, as in like manner, during Muhammed's life, some of his precepts have been obliterated. The man quoted from the heavenly book of Musaylima the following words: "Adopt the belief (O men!) that our God is the God "of the world, and know, that he is the Creator of "the universe and of its inhabitants; that he is "above the creatures, none of whom is like him; "say not, that he has no body; for it may be that "he has a body, although not one like a body of his "creatures: hand, eye, and ear of God are men- "tioned in the Furkán[1] which came from Muham- "med; and what is stated in the first Fárúk, which "is the book of Musaylima, is all truth; but the "hand, the eye, and the ear of God are not like the "hand and foot, and eye and ear of the creatures. "Thus faith is required for an intercourse with God, "and contemplation of the Creator; yet, whatever "was found existing can be seen, but the vision of "the eye, and the want of it, ought not to be taken "in a confined sense, as faith is to be entertained "that God shows himself to his servants in whatever "manner he wills." The man further proceeded to say: "Avoid discussions about antiquity, tra-

of the new prophet appeared then crushed, yet we see by the account of the Dabistán, that its doctrine maintained itself as late as the seventeenth century of our era.

[1] *Furka'n*, separating, discriminating, is another name for the Koran; and signifies any sacred book discriminating the right from wrong.

" dition, and duration, and the evanescence or de-
" struction of the world, because the world is the
" creation of God, and as to the last judgment and
" resurrection after death, attach your faith to them,
" and be confident that you shall be raised to life,
" and in that fix your thoughts, that it will be with
" the same or another body, in this or in another
" house, to heaven or to hell, to beatitude and re-
" pose, to recompense or punishment; attach your
" faith to this, and avoid diving too deep into it,
" whether it will be in this or in another habitation;
" believe in the angels of God, but say not that they
" have wings and feathers, or that, although this
" form be not essential to them, they nevertheless
" show themselves in this form, and know that good
" and bad, fine and ugly, are existing; but do not
" say, that this is good and that bad; for that which
" you call bad may be good, and inversely: but
" whatever is commanded, that do." The man proceeded to say: " In the time of Muhammed no
" Kiblah was fixed: men turned their faces some-
" times towards Jerusalem, sometimes towards the
" Kâbah *of Mecca*, and sometimes towards any
" other place. After Muhammed, his companions
" established by force that Kâbah should be the
" Kiblah. After Muhammed it was ordered by Mu-
" saylima, that turning the face towards the great
" altar, or any determined object, is impiety, and a

" sign of infidelity, because as no figure of whatever " likeness from among living beings ought to be " made a Kiblah, why should it be permitted to " make a Kiblah of a house? Further, at the time " of prayer, one may turn his face to whatever side " he chooses, provided it be with this intention: " I address myself to thee, who hath neither side nor " figure." At the three daily prayers which Musaylima has prescribed, the worshipper turns his face to no particular side: so if he turned himself at midday-prayer to the east, before sunset he prays towards the west; never towards a fixed place, nor to a fixed house, because this is infidelity. These sectaries do not call the Kâbah " the house of God," as the Almighty God has no house, otherwise he would have a body. They do not use the prayers of the Sunnites, as prayer with them is that which God has prescribed, and not that which the prophet likes. When they feel a desire to worship God, they read the divine words, and then reassume their work; but in their prayer, they never pronounce the name of the prophet; because it is contrary to sound doctrine to mix the veneration of a creature with the service of God, and in the prayer nothing comes upon their tongue but the word of God, not even the sayings of the prophet. Moreover, this sect prays three times a day; for, of the five prayers *ordered by Muhammed*, Musaylima, by God's com-

mand, dispensed with the evening and morning prayer to *Sahâh*,[1] *his wife*, who was a prophetess, and sent to the people as the reward of an excellent genius: this was one of the suitable favors of the Lord to Musaylima, who himself was a prophet, and his mate, also a prophetess.

As to what is said, that God commanded Iblis to adore Adam, and that, because he disobeyed, Iblis was expelled from the celestial court[2]—this tale is impious; because God does not command prostration before another object, nor induce any body to undue worship, as he did not create Iblis for the purpose of throwing men into error. In the second

[1] Thomas Erpenius, the translator of Elmacin, calls her Thegjazis (*Hist. Saracenica*, p. 19); her true name was *Sijah*, the daughter of Haret, of the tribe of the Tamimites, or Taalabites, according to Elmacin (loco citato). She declared herself a prophetess, and gained ascendancy in the country of Bahrein, along the south-western shores of the Persian gulf, and in almost the whole tract between Mecca and Bassora. She offered herself as wife to the new prophet, in Yamâma, who married her, but she soon abandoned him.—(See *Abulfeda*, vol. I. pp. 208, 209.)

[2] We find in the Koran, chap. II. v. 28, the following passage: "When thy Lord said unto the angels: I am going to place a substitute on earth, they said: Wilt thou place there one that will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee. God answered: Verily, I know that which ye know not.—29. And he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said: Declare unto me the names of these things, if ye say truth.—30. They answered: Praise be unto thee; we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise.—31. God said: O, Adam! tell them their names. God said: Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth; and know that what ye discover, and that which ye

Fárúk, it is stated that Iblis does not exist; the Almighty God gave man free choice, and the faculty of acting well or ill: wherefore he takes account of his good and bad conduct.

This sect also maintains that, for marriage, neither witnesses nor ceremonies are required; acquiescence and agreement of two persons in a retired place are sufficient. Further, although in the time of Muhammed (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) it was permitted to ask in marriage the daughter of relations, such as that of a paternal or maternal uncle, yet, after Muhammed, it was prohibited; likewise, connexion between consanguineous individuals, which was wont of old, became forbidden in Muhammed's time. By Musaylima came the com-

conceal?—32. And when he said unto the angels: Worship Adam; they all worshipped him, except Iblis, who refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers.—In Chapter VII. v. 11. God said unto him: What hindered thee from worshipping Adam, since I commanded thee? He answered: I am more excellent than he; thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay.—12. God said: Get thee down therefore from paradise: for it is not fit that thou behave thyself proudly therein; get thee hence; thou shalt be one of the contemptible.—13. He answered: Give me respite until the day of resurrection.—V. 14. God said: Verily, thou shalt be one of those who are respited. —15. The devil said: Because thou hast degraded me, I will wait for men in thy strait way.—16. Then I will come upon them from before and from behind, and from their right hand and from their left, and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful.—17. God said unto him: Get thee hence, despised, and driven far away; verily, whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all, etc., etc.

(*Sale's Translation.*)

mand of God to take to wife the daughter of one, between whom and the suitor not the least relationship is known. To contract marriage with more than one woman is not legal, but if any one wishes more, he may take another on the condition of temporary cohabitation.

To purify before prayer with sand or dust, when water cannot be had, is not right.

When one possesses a slave, male or female, who is an unbeliever, this slave, adopting the true faith, becomes free without requiring the leave of his master.

Whatever animal feeds upon filth which pollutes, this to eat is not allowable. Domestic fowls are not to be eaten, because they are winged pigs.

Musaylima forbade to keep the fast of Ramezan, but instead of this he prescribed the fast at night, in such a manner that, from sunset to sunrise, nothing may be eat nor drunk; and also abstinence from sexual intercourse.

Moreover, he abolished circumcision, for avoiding resemblance with the Jews. He prohibited all intoxicating liquors, such as those produced from the palm-tree, opium, nuts, and the like.

Muhammed Kulî used to read much in the second Fárúk, the book of Musaylima, which, having collected, he recited, and said: this doctrine came to me from my father and my ancestors, who enjoyed

the noble society of Musaylima. He said and enjoined that, after the birth of a son, the first observance is not to approach one's wife; the woman and man ought to turn their mind to God, and if one cannot effect it, he ought at least not to see his wife but once a day. According to the second Fárúk, it is allowable to have intercourse with another woman, inasmuch as it is another sort of contract. Muhammed Kuli said: "I saw Musaylima repeat-
" edly in dreams, in which he disclosed what was
" unknown to me, and said: When by orders of
" Abu-bekr, Musaylima underwent the death of a
" martyr, and other Khalifs were movers of this
" event, therefore the Almighty God made them
" suffer the curse of mankind; in the same manner
" as he threw the Jews, on account of the murder
" of Jesus, into error and perdition.

" The murderers of Musaylima are liars and vil-
" lains, and so are the murderers of Sáíd Al Sha-
" hái Hamzah."[1]

[1] Hamzah was an uncle of Muhammed, and one of the first abettors of the prophet; he was killed by a servant of the Habeshi race, called Vahshi, in the battle of Bedr fought by Muhammed against the Koreish, in the third year of the Hejira (A. D. 624); the same Vahshi killed Musaylima with the same spear with which he had pierced Hamza.—(*Abulfeda*, vol. I. pp. 93. 213).

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE VA HADIA H AND IMANA ,

IN FOUR SECTIONS.

SECTION I. Of the appearance of the Individual Vahed, and an account of his person.

SECTION II. Upon some of the tenets of Vahed.

SECTION III. Upon some of the sayings of Vahed.

SECTION IV. Upon certain customs, forms of speech, and traditions of this sect.

SECTION I. — Of the appearance of the individual Váhed, and an account of his person.

Váhed Mahmúd was born in Masjuan, a village in the country of Gilán.[1] He was learned, active, abstinent, austere, and eloquent; he appeared in the year of the Hejira 600 (A. D. 1203-4).[2] It is said

[1] A country between the Caspian and Euxine seas.

[2] Herbelot mentions (under the article Giogathai Khan, p. 363) a *Mahmud*, surnamed *Tarabi*, from his native place *Tarab*, near Bokhara, as an impostor, who by tricks and false miracles gained so many followers as to be able to seize upon the town of Bokhara, and to make war upon the Moghuls, in the year of the Hejira 630 (A. D. 1232). This date makes him a contemporary with the Mahmúd of our text, in which, however, nothing more is to be found for enabling us to identify the one with the other. Such was the terror which the name of Mahmùd Tarabi inspired, that the Tartars, being led against his camp, were seized by a panic, and took to flight, in which many thousands of them were slaughtered by the

that when Muhammed's body had attained a greater perfection, from it *Mahmúd* arose:

"We shall resuscitate thee in a place *Mahmúd* 'praiseworthy.'"

The meaning of it is this: When in an elemental matter, the energy conjoins in such a manner that by it an exuberance results in the composition of the mineral form; then it may happen that it assumes such a superior aptness as to invest itself with a vegetable guise; when its faculty and fitness gains a further increase, then the animal vest adapts itself to a suitable shape, and becomes worthy, that the elemental matter, fitted for the dignity of a human constitution, converges to such an excellence as to manifest itself in the perfection of mankind. In this manner, the parts of the human body from the appearance of Adam were progressing in purity, until they attained the dignity of a Muhammed, who is the top of the ladder. In this time, as the perfection and purity advanced, *Mahmúd* appeared. On that account it was said:

"From Muhammed is the flight to Mahmúd:
"As in the former there is less, and in the latter more (perfection)."

pursuing soldiers of Mahmúd, whilst he himself had been killed in his camp, by a random shot of an arrow from the Tartarian army. But his death remained concealed, and his friends spread the rumor of his voluntary but temporary disappearance. His brothers, Muhammed and Ali, were put at the head of the party, which was soon after overthrown by the Moghuls.

And the words which the lord of the prophetic asylum, Muhammed, addressed to Alí:

"I and Ali proceed from one light; thy flesh is my flesh, and thy body "is my body."

have this meaning: that the purity and energy of the bodily parts were collected in the prophets and the saints; and from them the bodies of Muhammed and Alí were kneaded, in such a manner that the chosen parts of Muhammed's and Alí's bodies being conjoined and mixed together, the person of *Mahmúd* was formed.

SECTION II.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THEIR TENETS.—The author of this book heard from a person who was one of the *safá*, "pure" Durvishes, from the Durvish Bakáí Váhed, from the Durvish Ismâíl, and from Mizza Takí, from Shaikh Látef illa, and Shaikh Shaháb, who belonged to the Imaná, what follows: Any single person is a being which longs after earth; but other elements also exist with an abhorrence of earth. These sectaries consider the sun as the spirit of fire, and call it the Kàbah of worship, the fire-temple of obedience to the holy being. Hakím Khákani says:

"O Kàbah of the traveller of heaven,
"O zemzem,[1] sacred well of fire to the world."

[1] *Zemzem* is the name of a famous well at Mecca. According to the

They hold the heaven to be air, and the moon to be the spirit of water. They agree upon transmigration in the following manner: when a man dies and is buried, the component parts of his body manifest themselves in the shape of minerals or vegetables, until the latter become the food of animals, or serve as aliment to mankind. These sectaries subjoin: in the food may reside intelligence and action; for the dispersed ingredients of a body are in the food; intelligence and action collect all in

Muhammedans, it was formed from the source which God made appear in favor of Ismâil and Hagar, his mother, whom Abraham drove from his house, and obliged to retire to Arabia. When afterwards the patriarch came to visit his banished son Ismâil, and built the Ḳuare temple, called Kâbah, he bestowed upon him the possession of it and the surrounding country, since called Mecca. This place became an object of contest between Ismâil's posterity and the Arabian tribe of Jorhamides. The latter, after having possessed themselves of it, were attacked by the former, but before yielding it, they threw the sacred black stone, with the two gazelles of massive gold which an Arabian king had presented to the temple, into the well, and then completely filled it up. So it remained until the time of an ancestor of Muhammed, called Abdal mothleb; he was admonished by an heavenly voice to clear the well, the situation of which was at the same time indicated to him. This was near the idols Assat and Neilah, which were first to be removed, in spite of their adorers, the Koraishites. The latter, having ceded the well, claimed to share the treasure which Abdal mothleb had found in it. The new contest was to be decided by Ebn Sâid, a famous prophet, who lived on the confines of Syria. Upon the way to him, through a desert, when both parties were dying of thirst, a fountain which sprung up beneath the foot of Abdal mothleb's camel brought about a reconciliation between them; the well was cleared; the treasure found was consecrated to the temple, which in after times gained so much celebrity.—*Herbelot after Khondemir.*)

one place, where * they experience no dispersion, although the conformation of the body may be disjoined; whether in the producing of a mineral, a vegetable, an animal, or a man.*[1] They do not agree upon the existence of a rational unsubstantial soul. They know of no heaven without the elements, and believe the necessary original principle to be a point of earth. Instead of *Bismilla hirrehma nirrehim*, "in the name of the bountiful and merciful God," they write "*Isteâin ba ne fseq* "*illazi la illah hú*, "I assist myself of thy essence which alone is God;" and instead of *láysa kamsillah shaya*, "nothing is like it;" they say *Ana merkeb almabin*, "I am the vehicle of him who explains the "truth."

SECTION III.—UPON SOME OF THE SAYINGS OF VÁHED. —The *Mizán*, "balance," is a book which Váhed composed with many others; it is distinguished by the word *naskh* and "treatise;" and each naskh and

[1] In the translation of this obscure passage between the two asterisks (edit. of Calcutta, p 375, l. 17, 18) I followed the manuscript of Oude, which reads a little differently: وپراکندہ نکردند اگرچہ ترکیب مالبد کشادہ شود خواہ درنشاء جادی خواہ نباتی خواہ حیوانی یا نشانی

treatise has a particular name. In the Mízán, which is reputed among the naskhs, it is stated, that the materials of the world existed from the very beginning, which signifies from the first appearance of *afrád*, " rudimental units (monades?)," which are primordial, that is to say, the root of the before-said state, until the time when these rudimental units, tempered together, became vegetables; thence rose animals, which are called *dabtah ul ares*, " the rep- " tiles of the world." Thus it existed until man was formed. The first mentioned state might have extended to sixteen thousand years; so that eight thousand years of the said number may be the period of Arabia, which is the superior, and eight thousand years the period of Ajem (Persia), which is the inferior period. In the sequel, when the said world, which is the era of the first mentioned rudimental units, had been so constituted as to admit the formation of man; then the duration of life, comprising the period of man, was to be also sixteen thousand years; of which eight thousand years should revolve for eight perfect prophets of Arabia, and other eight thousand years for eight perfect teachers of Ajem. Further, when the cycle of the two formations shall be completed, then the turn of the fundamental units is to reappear. After twice the said eight thousand, that is, sixteen thousand years, according to simple computation, when a perfect cycle of mankind and

the world, in sixty-four thousand years,[1] on conditions exterior and interior, manifest and hidden, shall have been completed, then an entire period shall have received the seal.

SECTION IV. ON CERTAIN CUSTOMS, FORMS OF SPEECH, AND TRADITIONS OF THIS SECT.—Mahmúd has treatises and rules conformable to the law of the prophet; but he interpreted the Koran according to his own creed. Of his established customs are the following: One living in solitude is called *váhed*, "recluse."[2]

[1] The period of rudimental units, vegetables, and reptiles . . . . . 16,000 years.
The period of mankind . . . . . 16,000 —
Both periods . . . . . 32,000 —
Multiplied by . . . . . 2 —
Total . . . . . 64,000 years.

[2] It is not clear whether above is meant a *hermit*, or a *monk* of a distinct order. Monachism is not sanctioned by the strict rule of Islam, but it appears to be the natural spontaneous growth of Asia. In the first year of the Hejira (A. D. 622) forty-five citizens of Mecca associated with forty-five inhabitants of Medina in a sort of confraternity, and pledged themselves to community of property, and to a regular daily performance of religious practices in a spirit of penitence and mortification: they were called *Sufis*, of whom hereafter. Abu bekr and Ali formed and presided over similar congregations. The latter conferred the presidency of it, under the mysterious name of *Khilafet*, upon *Hassan Bas'ri* (mentioned in vol. II. p. 389, note 1). Some of their successors deviated from the rules of this first establishment, and, in the course of time, a multitude of monastic orders were founded, each headed by a chief called

Praises are due to the man devoted to this state, whose whole life is spent in holiness, poverty, and retirement; who feels no inclination for connexion; takes little, and no more than necessary, food; such a man will rise to perfection, and become a "váhed," attaining the divine dignity which leads to that of a "teacher." If the pious person feels himself inclined to connexion with a woman, let him enjoy her once in his whole life; if he cannot otherwise, once in one year; if he requires more, once in forty days; if this be not enough, once in a month; if still more, once in a week.

A váhed is reported to have given the following information: When one descends from the state of a man to the state of an irrational animal, or from that to a vegetable, or from a vegetable becomes a mineral; in this manner, by reaction of impressions and dispositions, he receives in each state a mark (*mahs*), which he bears from formation to formation:

"Fear the intelligence of the believer, because he sees by the light "of God."

Pir or *Shaikh*. One of the most celebrated orders was that founded in the year of the Hejira 37 (A. D. 657) by *Uweis Karni'*, a native of *Karn*, in Yemen. The most distinguished in the Ottoman empire are thirty-two in number, founded between the years of the Hejira 149 and 1164 (A. D. 776 and 1730). Three of them descend from the congregation of Abu bekr, and the rest from that of Ali.—(See *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, tome IV^me^, 1^re^ partie, par *d'Ohsson*, p. 617 et seq.)

Mahs[1] in the dictionary is interpreted "a computer," but in the idiom of this tribe it signifies (as just said) that every individual, in his disposition and action, bears a vestige of the disposition of a former state. It is a part of their persuasion, that, when an individual enters for the first time in a society, the name of whatever in the three kingdoms of nature he first brings upon his tongue, is supposed to be the *ihs'a*, or "mark," that in a former state he had been the very thing the name of which had fallen from his tongue.

These sectaries hold, that pilgrims exercise the profession of cheats, wearing a garment marked with stripes, which they call the vest of Kerbála; and that they practise but hypocrisy and deceit. When, according to their low disposition, they descend to the state of brutes, they become animals, which the Hindus call *Galhari*, "squirrel;" and when transformed into vegetables, they become striped pumpkins, or weak jujube-trees; when they undergo the transformation into minerals, they are onyxes. In this sense this sect interprets the *mahs*, or "mark." Lawyers and governors, who w ash hands and mouth, friends of white garments, be-

[1] مَحْص *mahs* and احصا *ihs'a*, are derived from the same root, حص *has'*, "making an impression;" *ihs'a* is interpreted in Richardson's Dict., new edit., "numbering, computing."

come geese, which at every moment plunge their head into water; in the state of vegetables, they assume the form of sticks for rubbing teeth, of reading-sticks, and of mats to cover the place of prayer; and in the state of minerals, they figure as hard stones, stones of sepulchres, and magnets. The glow-worms are torch-bearers, who, descending by degrees, came to take this shape. A dog, having been in his former state a Turk of the tribe *Kazel-básh*,[1] and his crooked sword having become his tail, betrays his Turkish origin by coming forth at the call *khach:* which in Turkish means "forth." These sectaries further say, that the iron by which a prophet or a saint has been killed, is that which acquires excellence.

"Saints, when they desire the voyage to the eternal kingdom,
"Desire from the edge of thy blade the *takbír*,[2] 'magnifying
"'exclamation,' of death."

They also hold, that the Imám Hossain from state to state descended from Moses, and that Yezíd (his murderer) descended from Pharaoh. Moses, in his time, drowned Pharaoh in the waters of the Nile, and obtained the victory over him; but in the latter state Moses, having become Hossain, and Pha-

[1] This Turkish word signifies "red head," and is applied by the Turks to the Persians, who, since the time of Ismâil Sofi, the founder of the present dynasty of Persia, wear a red turban with twelve folds around it, in honor of the twelve Imáms.

[2] This consists in exclaiming "God is greatest."

raoh, Yezíd, the latter did not give to Hossain the water of the *Ferát*, "Euphrates," but with the water of the sharp steel, deprived his body of life.

These men further assert that, whatever sorts of minerals, vegetables, and animals are black, were formerly black-faced men, and whatever are white, were men with a white skin.

These sectaries all venerate the sun, and profess that he is the Kíblah; and the door of the Kâbah facing the sun refers to this meaning, that the sun is the true Kíblah; they have a prayer which they chant with their face turned towards the sun.

They maintain that, when the period of Ajem takes place, men will direct their road to God, and they venerate these men, and hold human nature to be divine. Their salutation is: *Alla, alla.* When the period of Ajem is completed, men will remain, and they think that the men whom we venerate were superior in rank to those who now exist; on which account the latter continue to form idols similar to men, and worship them. The worship of idols will prevail, until the period of Ajem returns, and this will be its mode of continuance.

Mahmúd called himself a *Váhed*, and declared himself to be the *Mahdy* promised, whose appearance was predicted by the prophet; he said, that the religion of Muhammed is cancelled, and that now the true faith is that of *Mahmúd*: as was said:

" The time is come; the accomplishment of sayings is Mahmúd·
" Whatever reproach the Arab threw upon Ajem, it is over."

His disciples are dispersed in the four quarters of the world, and in the whole country of Iran a great number of them resides, but they dare not make themselves known, because the King, now the inhabitant of heaven, Shah Abás, son of Shah Khodábendah Sáfaví, put many of them to death. The belief of the Mahmúdían is, that Shah Abás, when he had met Taráb and Kamál, who were perfect Váhadis, and taken information from them, wanted to publish them as his own, and on that account killed them both. They subjoin that, although he had great pretensions, yet he never attained perfection; because, on account of the world and ostentation, he had destroyed the perfect. The author of this work heard from an Amín: " Shah Abás was a perfect Amín, and killed whom-" ever he did not find well founded in this creed. " Thus, he admitted me to his society, and desired " me to remain in Isfahán; when I did not consent " to it, he granted me the expenses of my journey to " India." It is said, that in these times Shah Abás came on foot to visit the place of *Hossein*'s martyrdom, *that is*, *Kerhála*, where he said to Taráb: " I " feel pain from my foot journey." Taráb answered: " This is owing to the inconsistency of " thy natural intellect; for if the Imám for whose

" sake thou hast performed the journey joined God, " why seekest thou the nether place of his martyr- " dom; and if he has not joined God, what hast thou " to hope from him? Find thou a living Imám." The Shah asked: " Who is the living Imám?" The saint answered: " I." The king replied: " Well, " I shall fire a ball from a gun upon thee; if it " takes no effect, I will follow thee." Taráb gave this answer: " Your Imám, Rizá, died by the grain " of a grape; how shall I resist the ball of a gun?" At last the Shah fired upon and killed him. As Kamál openly professed the creed of Taráb, the king associated him with the latter.[1]

It is reported, that one of the Imanás came to Hosséin Khan, of Shám, and having converted him

[1] Shah Abbas I. has been already mentioned in a note (vol. II. p. 146), where, according to sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, the duration of his reign is stated to have been forty-three years; his age seventy; and the date of his death A. D. 1628; somewhat differently from Herbelot, who makes his reign forty-five, his age sixty-three, and the date of his death A. D. 1629. Abbas I., called the Great, on account of his magnificent buildings, and his skilful interior policy, was very much attached to the religion of Ali, which was always, until our days, dominant in Persia; his taking possession of Baghdád, Nudjef, Kerbelah, Kásmín, and Sámerah, where the remains of Ali and his descendants are buried, was more agreeable to the Persians than the whole of his other conquests; dressed with the mantle of the saints of Arbeli, that is of Sofi and Haidar, ancestors of the present Persian kings, Abbas was almost adored by his subjects. This renders the recital above, respecting his religious zeal, very probable. It will be remembered that this Shah sent sir George Shirley as his ambassador to England; and that king James I. dispatched sir Dradmore Cotton on an embassy to Persia, in 1626.

to his creed, he heard the following speech from him: "One day, when during the Maheram they "read the history of the martyrdom *of Hossein*, and "he too (Hossein Khan) was weeping, Shah Abás "said: 'You, why do you cry, as if it were the "'*Shámlús* (that is to say, the natives of Shám) who "'did the action?' The answer was: 'We do not "'cry on account of Hossein: but because from our "'number also fine youths were killed.'"

"With the same eyes with which you look on us,
"With the same eyes is it, that we look on you."

The *Duniahs*, a particular sect, so called in the language of the Imanahs, think slightly of Hossein. On account of their meanness, they made no progress in the religion of Mahmúd. Azízí, one of the Muselmáns of Shiráz, told the author of this book in Lahore: "I once reviled Mahmúd; at night I saw "him in a dream; he approached me with a light-"ning-flashing face, and said: 'Hast thou perused "'my works?' I answered, 'I have.' He sub-"joined: 'Why dost thou speak abusively of me? "'If thou perseverest in this manner, I will chas-"'tise thee.'"

It is reported by the Váhadís, that Khajah Háfiz of Shiráz professed also this creed. As Mahmúd dwelt a long time upon the border of the river Rúdáres, the Khájah said:

"O zephir! when thou passest over the border of Rúdáres,

" Imprint kisses upon the ground of that river, and perfume the air " with musk."

A person called Fakher eddin, who was one of this sect, gave the information that, according to the report of the Duníah, Mahmud threw himself into aqua fortis ;[1] but this rumor is false, and proceeded from rancor. A great number of learned and pious persons, who were contemporaries of the founder of this sect, or lived soon after him, followed and professed his doctrine.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the religion of the Roshenian : in three Sections.

Sect. I.—Of the appearance of Miyan Bayezid, and some of his sayings.

Sect. II.—Some account of his proceedings.

Sect. III.—Account of his sons.

Section I.—Of the appearance of the lord Míyán Báyezid.

1 This was the manner of death chosen by Mokanna, in the year of the Hejira 563 (A D. 776). This upstart prophet (see note 1, p. 3), being pent up in a mountain-castle by the forces of the khalif Mohadi, without hope of escape, poisoned the garrison and his family, and then plunged into a vessel full of aqua fortis, which consumed every part of his body except his hair; he hoped that, from his disappearance, he should be

In the Hálnámeh, a true work from Báyezid's pen, it is stated that the lord *Mlyán Báyezíd Ansári* was the son of Shaikh *Abdullah*, who descended in the seventh generation from Shaikh *Siráj-eddín Ansári*, and that, in the latter time of the dominion of the Afghans, he was born in the town of Jalendher in the Panjab.[1] A year after this event, the blessed lord *Zahír-eddín Báber Pádsháh*, having obtained a victory over the Afghans, conquered Hind. In the history of the Moghúls it is recorded that, in the year of the Hejira 932 (A. D. 1525)[2] the blessed lord

supposed to have been taken up to heaven. One of his concubines, who by concealment had escaped destruction, and had seen every thing, revealed what had taken place; but many of his followers continued to believe in his divinity and future reappearance.

I shall here remark, that destroying human bodies by means of aqua fortis is an ancient practice, mentioned in the Desátír (Engl. transl., p. 29), and accounts for the fact of so many funeral urns being found in Asia without ashes in them.

[1] *Ans'ar* signifies "protectors, defenders," and is a word particularly applied to the citizens of Madína who assisted Muhammed when he was obliged to fly from Mecca. Herbelot mentions as one of the most illustrious who bore this surname *Abul Abbas Ahmed ben Abdallah*, without the date of his birth or death, a Spaniard who wrote a Commentary upon the *Moállakat*, or poems suspended in the temple of Mecca; another who wrote upon physiognomy; and a third who composed a treatise upon coffee. The last was, according to Silvestre de Sacy (see *Chrestom. ar.*, t. I. p. 441), originally from Madína, a native of Jejireh, and wrote in the year of the Hejira 966 or 996 (A. D. 1558 or 1587). The family and native place of the above-mentioned *Ans'ari*, were in the Panjab, although his ancestors might have come from Arabia.

[2] This was in 1526.— See vol. II. p. 249.)

Báber Pádshah defeated *Ibráhím Khán Afghán*. In the before-said Hálnámeh is to be found that the mother of Míyán Báyezíd was called *Bánin*, and that the father of Banín and the grandfather of Abd ullah were brothers, and had their residence in the town of Jalendher. Míyán Báyezíd was born in this place. The father of Abdullah asked Banin, the daughter of Muhammed Amín, in marriage for his son Abd ullah. The father of Báyezíd Abd ullah resided at Kánígaram, which is situated in Kóhistan (the hilly country) of the Afghans.[1] When the conquests of the Moghúls began to extend, Banín also came with Báyezid to Kánígaram. Abd ullah had no liking for Banin, on which account he repudiated her; and Míyán Báyezíd experienced many sufferings from the enmity of another wife of Abd ullah, and from the son of the wife of Yâkub, besides the carelessness of his father.

It was the custom of Míyán Bayezíd that, whenever he went to tend his own field, he took care also of the fields of others, and guarded them. From his infancy he felt a disposition towards the first cause, so as to investigate—"the heavens and the "earth are here; but where is God?" When Khájah Ismâîl was blessed in a dream by a revelation, he devoted himself to austere practices of

[1] The district of Kanigaram is on the borders of Kandahar.

piety, and many persons who partook in his exercises, derived benefit from them. Báyezíd wished to become his disciple; but Abd ullah forbade it, saying: "It is a disgrace to me that thou shouldst be "the disciple of the meanest of our relations; go "to the sons of Shaikh *Bahá-eddín Zakariá.*"[1] Báyezíd replied: "The character of a Shaikh is no inhe- "ritance." Finally, Báyezíd was called by a mysterious influence to sanctity, and passed through the gradations of *sheriât*, "external law;" *hakíket*, "re- "ality;" *mârifet*, "true knowledge;" *kurbet*, "prox- "imity;" *vâsalet*, "union;" and *sekúnat*, "dwelling "in God." Many men joined him, at which the envious were vexed, and he invited to him the crowd which had not attained the same degree. With Báyezíd lineage obtained no respect, but only knowledge and virtue were valued, as

"Paradise belongs to the servants of God, let them
"Be *habshi's*, 'negroes,' and hell is for the depraved,
"Let them be *sa'ids* of Koresh extraction."

He saw God manifest:

"Peradventure you may see your God made manifest."

[1] This Shaikh was born A. D. 1169, in Kot-Karor, a town in Multan. After having travelled, and acquired celebrity as a saint, he returned to Multan, where he made a great number of disciples. His posterity preserved the fame of their ancestor to the times of Bayazid.—(See *Mémoire sur la Religion muselmane dans l'Inde.* par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 98.)

And the order was given to Báyezíd to say:

" I have seen thee by thee; I have heard thee from thee."

God said to him further:

" The disgrace of this world is lighter than the disgrace
" Of thy future world; haste towards what is good; be slow
" Towards what is bad."

And the Lord God announced to him:

" I have established as duties the exterior and the interior worship:
" the exterior worship as a duty for acquiring knowledge, and the
" interior worship as a perpetual duty."

Báyezíd was perplexed: " If I offer prayers I am " an idolator, and if I neglect them I am an infidel; " for it is said:

" ' The offering of prayers is idolatry, and the neglect of them
" infidelity."

Then the command arrived: " Perform the pray- " ers of the prophet;" he asked: " What prayers " are these?" The Almighty God said: " The " praise of the Divinity." Afterwards he chose this prayer, as it is said:

" The worship of those who are attached to the unity of God is, before
" men, like the worship of worshippers; but before God, it participates
" in the object of worship itself."

Báyezíd devoted himself so much more to secret practices of piety, about which the prophet has said:

" The best remembrance of God is secret remembrance, and the best
" food is that which is sufficient."

And again:

" Remember your God morning and evening; and be not one of the
" negligent."

His friends saw in a night dream, and he himself heard the voice, that Báyezíd should be called *Míyán Róshen*, and he obtained eternal life, according to the words of God:

"Say not of him who is slain in the way of the Lord, that he is dead, "but that he is alive; but you cannot distinguish the deaf, the dumb, "and the blind; nor can they reply to you; for they are deaf in hearing "the truth, dumb in speaking the truth, and blind in seeing the truth."

He made himself free of the crowd of such description; and frequently divine inspiration came upon him. Now, according to the prophetic saying:

"Inspiration is a light which descends into the heart, and displays the "real nature of the things according as they are."

And Jabríl also descended to him; we read in the Korán:

"I send down angels and the spirit, at my pleasure, on whomsoever "I please among my servants."

God Almighty elected him also for an apostle, and conferred upon him the gift of prophecy:

"I have sent none before thee, excepting those persons who have "received revelation."

The lord Míyan Róshen, that is, Báyezíd, was extremely righteous in his conduct, as it is said:

"When God intends the good of one of his creatures, he gives him an "admonisher in his spirit, and a restrainer in his heart; so that, of his "own accord, he admonishes and restrains himself."

Míyán Róshen, that is, Báyezíd, said to the learned: "What says the confession of the faith?" The reply was: "We bear testimony that there is

" no god but God;" that is: we testify that there is no god worthy to be worshipped but God Almighty. Míyán Báyezíd said: " If one is not acquainted with " Lord Almighty, and says: ' I am acquainted with " ' him,' he is a liar; as it is said:

" He who sees not God, knows not God."

Móuláná Zakaríá said to Míyán Báyazíd: " Thou " sayest that thou art acquainted with the heart, " and thou proclaimest thyself the master of open- " ing the hearts; give me information of my heart, " and if this proves to be true, I shall then place my " confidence in thee." Míyán Róshen Báyaz d replied: " I am the master of opening the hearts; but " there is no heart in thee; if thou hadst possessed " a heart, I should have given thee information " about it." Then Móulána Zikeríá declared (to those about him): " Kill me first; if a heart comes " forth from my body, then put Báyazíd to death, " and if none appear, then let him be safe." Míyán Báyazid said: " The heart which thou mentionest " will come forth if a calf, a kid, or a dog be killed; " but that lump of flesh is not the heart. The " Arabian prophet says:

" The heart of the faithful is more elevated than the ninth or empy- " rean heaven; and more spacious than the extent of the ninth heaven (the " throne of God)."

" And again:

" Hearts bear witness of hearts."

Móulána Zakaríá said to him: "Thou takest thy-
"self for a master of opening the tombs; let us go
"together to a burying ground, that the dead may
"converse with thee." Míyán Báyezíd replied: "If
"thou didst listen to the voice of the dead, I should
"not call thee an infidel." The author of this work observed to Míyan, who was attached to the Roshinian persuasion: "If, instead of these words, the "lord Míyan had said: When I hear your voice, "it is the voice of the dead, and proceeds from the "tomb of the corporeal members, it would have "been better." Being pleased with this observation, the Míyán wrote down upon the margin of the Hálnámeh, that this also is the speech of the lord Míyán. The Mobed says:

"Between our friends we saw and we gave
"To the searchers of the road a mark without a mark."

Then the learned said to Míyán Báyezíd: "By "what word or deed of thine shall men believe in "thee?" Míyán Róshen Báyazíd replied: "Let "there be one of your number, the best and ablest, "who applies to science and practises devotion; let "him join me, and according to my direction per-"form exercises of worship and piety; if he find a "superior advantage, then believe in me."

A person named Malik Mirzá said: "O Báyezíd, be-"ware of arrogant speech, and call not men detest-"able; whoever likes, may follow thy path, but if

" he does not like it, let him remain away from it." Míyán Róshen Báyezíd answered: " I will propose " a simile: if in a house which should have but one " door, a great number of persons had fallen asleep, " and in that house fire had broken out; if by acci- " dent one person should be awake, ought he to " awake the others, or not?" His adversaries said: " O Báyezíd, since God Almighty has charged thee " with his orders, declare, ' Jabriyil descended to " ' me, and I am the Mahdi;' but call not the people " infidels and detestable."

Míyán Róshen Bayazíd did not think it right to eat of the flesh of an animal killed by a person whom he did not know, and who did not adhere to the rule of the unity of God. Báyezíd knew that:

" A *worldly* wise man, before man, is living, but before God, dead; " his form is like the form of a man, but his qualities like the qualities " of beasts; whilst a man, knowing God, is living before God; his form is " like the form of a man, and his qualities are like the qualities of the " merciful God."

Báyezíd said to his father Abd ullah: " The Ara- " bian prophet has declared:

" *Sheri'a't*, ' the law,' is like night; *Tari'kat*, ' religious rule,' is " like the stars; *Hakiket*, ' the truth,' is like the moon; and *Márifet*, " ' the true knowledge,' like the sun; and nothing is superior to the sun."

Míyán Báyezíd Róshen said: " The matter of the " law rests upon the five fundamental principles of " the Muselmáns.[1]

[1] These are: 1. the profession of the faith; 2. the stated prayers; 3.

Pronouncing the words of the faith, and joining to the words the belief in their truth; these are the actions of the law. The *tasbîh*, "rosary;" the *tahlîl*, "praise of God;" the being constantly employed in the verbal commemoration of the *attributes of God*; the guarding of the heart from temptation: this is the business of *tarîkat*, "religious rule."

To keep the fast of the month Ramazan, and to abstain from eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse; this is the business of *sherîât*, "the law." Fasting beyond the demands of duty; not filling the belly, but training it to a scanty diet; and restraining the body from what is bad: this is the business of *tarîkat*.

The *Zacat*, "stated alms," and the giving of the tithe, is the business of *sherîât*; but the distribution of food and raiment to the fakírs and performers of fasts, and the taking by the hand the distressed, is the business of *tarîkat*.

To perform the circuit around the house of the friend of God,[1] and to be free from wickedness, and crime, and warring, is the business of the *sherîât*; but to perform the circuit of the house of the friend of God, to wit the heart,[2] to combat bodily propen-

religious fasting; 4. *Haj*, "the pilgrimage;" 5. *Zacat*, "the stated "alms."

[1] Abraham, the supposed builder of the Kâbah.

[2] We find in the fifth sermon of Sádí: "He who travels to the Kâbah on foot makes the circuit of the Kâbah; but he who makes the pilgrimage

sities, and to worship the angels, is the business of *tarikat*.

To meditate constantly on the Almighty God, to place confidence in the instructions received, to discard from the heart the exterior veil, and to fix the view on the perfection of the celestial object of our affection: this is the business of *hakikat*, "truth."

To view the nature of God with the eye of the heart, and to see him face to face in every mansion and on every side, with the light of the intellect, and to cause no injury to the creatures of the All-Just: this is the business of *mârifat*, "true knowledge."

To know the All-Just, and to perceive and comprehend the sound of the *tasbîh*, "rosary:" this is the business of *kurbet*, "proximity to God."

To choose self-abnegation, to perform every thing in the essence of the All-Nourisher, to practise renunciation of all superfluities, and to carry in one's self the proof of the true sense of the divine union: this is *vás'alet*, "union with God."

To annihilate one's self before Deity absolute, and *in God* to be eternal and absolute; to become one with the unity, and to beware of evil: this is the business of *touhîd*, "coalescence with God."[1]

To become an inmate and resident, to assume the

of the Kâbah, in his heart, is encircled by the Kâbâh.—(*Transact. of Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, vol. I. p. 151.)

[1] We see here the fundamental ideas of that mysticism which was formed into a particular system by the Sufis, of whom hereafter.

attributes of God absolute, to divorce from one's own attributes: this is the business of *sacúnat*, "in-dwell-"ing in God," and there is no superior station beyond *sacúnat*.

The terms *kurbat*, *vás alet*, *vahed*, and *sacúnat* are peculiar to the style of the lord Miyán Róshen Báyezíd, who places them higher than *sherîât*, *térikat*, and *mârifat*.

At that time it was the custom, when friends had been separated and met again, on meeting, their first inquiries were about the health, wealth, and children of each other. But the friends of Miyán Róshen Báyezid first inquired about each other's faith, religious thoughts, zeal, love, and knowledge of the All-Just, and afterwards about their health and welfare. When they made inquiry about any other person, it was in the following manner: "How is he with respect to religion and faith? "does he keep the affection of the friends of God?" and in these things they rejoiced. The words of the prophet are:

"Verily, God does not regard your forms nor your wealth,
"But he regards your hearts and your actions."

Miyán Báyezíd, in his early years, used to conform to the five fundamental principles of the Muselman faith, such as the confession of faith, to say prayers five times a-day, and to keep the fasts; but as he was not possessor of a sufficient estate, it was

not necessary for him to give the stated alms. He was desirous to perform the pilgrimage, but he was then too young for it, so it was postponed until he attained the truth of his religion. The words of God Almighty are:

" Verily, I am near to mankind, nearer than their own necks; there is " no separation between me and mankind; and I am one with mankind; " but mankind know it not: nor can a man attain the knowledge of me, " unless by the means of the assiduous perusal of the sacred volume, and " not by much travel of the feet; but he may attain the knowledge of " me by ardent meditation, and, by obedience, a man becomes perfect."

Thus far from the Hál-námeh of Miyán Báyazid.

Section II.: an account of the history of the lord Mí'yan Ro'shen Ba'yazi'd.

Báyazid felt himself a prophet, and invited mankind to religious austerity; he caused them to say prayers, but indicated them no determined quarter to which they ought to turn, as the sacred text says:

" Wherever you turn, you turn towards God."

He said, religious bathing in water is not necessary; for, as soon as the wind blows upon us, the body is purified; inasmuch as the four elements are equally pure. He said, whoever knows not himself and God, is not a man; and if he be hurtful, he may

be accounted to have the nature of a wolf, tiger, serpent, or scorpion. The Arabian prophet has said:

"Kill a harmful creature before it causes harm."

If such a person is well-behaved, and says prayers, he has the disposition of an ox, or sheep, and to kill him is lawful. On that account he ordered his self-conceited adversaries to be killed, as they were to be regarded as brute beasts; thus it is stated in the Koran:

"They are like brute beasts, nay worse."

He said: whoever does not know himself, and has no notion of eternal life, and everlasting existence, is dead, and the property of a dead man, whose heirs are also as the dead, reverts to the living. On that account he ordered also the killing of the ignorant. When he found a Hindu knowing himself, he valued him higher than a Muselman. He and his sons practised for some time highway robbery. Of the wealth which he took from the Muselmans and others, he deposited the fifth part in a store-house, and when it was wanted, he distributed it among the most deserving people. He and his sons kept themselves all remote from adultery, lewdness, and unbecoming actions, as well as from despoiling the unitarians of their property, and refrained from using violence towards those who saw but one God.

He composed a great number of works in the

Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and Afgháni,[1] languages. The *Maks'úd al Múmenín*, "the desire of the right "believers," is in Arabic. They say, that the All-just God conversed with him without the intervention of Jabril.[2] He composed also a book entitled *Khair-al-bián*, "the good news, or the gospel," and this in four languages: the first in Arabic, the second in Persian, the third in Hindi, and the fourth in *Pashtú*, that is, the Afgháni language: the same purport is conveyed in the four languages. The address is from the All-just All-mighty God to the lord Báyezíd, and this they believe a work of divine inspiration. He is also the author of the *Hálnámeh*, in which he has given an account of himself.

The most astonishing circumstance therein is, that he was an illiterate man, and yet expounded the Koran, and uttered speeches full of truth, so that learned men were astonished at them.

It is said that Báyezid received the divine command for the destruction of those who know no God. Three times the all-just God had given him the order, and he put not his hand to the sword;

[1] Bayezid Ansari is said to have been the first author who wrote in the *Pashtu*, or Afghan language.

[2] بی میانجی جبریل It is by mistake, it appears, that we find in Doctor Leyden's translation: "The All-just addressed him *through* "*Miyanji Jabrayil:*" and the note referring to this passage is not applicable to it.

but when it was repeated, unable to resist, he girt himself for the war against the infidels.

Báyezid was contemporary with the lord Mirzá Muhammed Hakim, the son of the lord Humáyún Pádshah. The author of this book has heard from Mirza sháh Muhammed, surnamed Ghazni Khán, the following account: "It was in the year of the "Hejira 949 (A. D. 1542-3), that Miyàn Róshen "gained strength and established his sect. My fa- "ther, *Sháh Baighkán* Arghún, surnamed Khán-Dou- "rán, said, he saw Míyán Báyezíd before his rising "in rebellion, when he was brought to the court of "Mirzá Muhammed Hakím, and the learned were "confounded in the dispute with him, wherefore "they let him take his departure on equitable "terms."[1] In the beginning of the year of the

[1] Bayezid, after having obtained the adherence of several tribes of the Afghans, established himself in *Hashtanagar*, "eight townships," in the middle of *Pokhtanga*, or Afghanistan, perhaps the country of the ancient *Aspagani*, mentioned by Pliny, and took his residence at *Kaleder*, in the district of Omazei, where he founded a city. From thence, under the title of *Pír rosha'n*, "master of light," he issued proclamations to increase the number of his followers. Having become formidable to the government of the Moghuls, *Mahsan khan ghazi*, a chief of great merit, by a sudden irruption into Hashtanagar, seized the person of Bayezid, and carried him to Kabul, where, although at first subject to insult, he owed his release to the intercession of some influential persons, favorably disposed towards him. He then retired to the mountains of *Totee*, and further to those of *Tirah*, perhaps the district of the ancient *Thirœi*, mentioned by Arrian. Such was soon the new increase of his forces, that he dared proclaim his project to overthrow the power of the emperor

Hejira 994 (A. D. 1585-6) the intelligence of the death of the lord Mirzá Muhammed Hakim reached from Kabul, the ear of the Lord, dwelling in the ninth heaven. The sepulchre of Báyezid is at Bhatakpùr, in the hilly country of the Afghans.

Section III.: upon the transactions of the sons of the lord Mi'yan Bayezi'd.

Omár Shaikh Kamál eddin, Nur eddin and Jelál eddin were the sons of Báyezid,[2] and he had a daughter, Kamál Khátún. After the lord Miyán Jelál eddin succeeded to his father's dignity, and acquired a very great power; he never deviated from the precepts of the lord Miyán; he was just, and an adherer to rule, and girt with energy and activity. In the year of the Hejira 989 (A. D. 1581-2), when the standards of majesty of the lord (now an inhabitant of the ninth heaven), that is, of *Acbar Pádsháh*, re-

Akbar. He descended into the plains of *Ningarhar*, sacked and burnt the country, but was overtaken by *Mahsan Khan*, and his army routed; he himself escaped with great difficulty, and died soon after, from the fatigues of his flight: he was buried at Hashtanagar.—(See on the Rosheniah sect and its founder, *Asiat. Res.*, vol. XI. p. 387 et seq., by J. Leyden, M.D.)

[1] According to Akhun Derwazch (of whom hereafter) Bayazid had five sons. *Khair eddin* is placed between the last mentioned above.

turned from Kabul to the firm seat of government (Delhi), he (Jelal-eddin) came to his presence, but after some days he took to flight. In the year of the Hejira 1000 (A. D. 1591-2), *Jâfer Baig Kazvíní Bakhshí*, who was honored with the title of Aś fakháni, was deputed for the destruction of Jelál eddin Róshni, whom the blessed *Jelál eddin Muhammed Akbar* called *Jelálah*, and in the same year the emperor's chieftains, having taken prisoners the whole family of Jelál eddin by the agency of a person called *Vahdit Alí*, brought them to the foot of the throne, the seat of the deputy of God. In the year of the Hejira 1007 (A. D. 1598-9), during the reign of the lord, now inhabiting heaven, Jelál eddin Acbar Pádshah, Miyan Jelál eddin took Ghizni, and cruelly ravaged this province, but could not maintain himself in that position. Meanwhile, at the coming up of the *Hazárah*[1] and the Afghans upon Miyan, a great conflict

1 Jelál-eddin, although supported by many, was strongly opposed by some of the Afghan tribes; other mixed tribes never adopted the Roshenish creed. Among the last were the *Ha'za'rahs*, distinct from the Afghans and Moghuls; their original seat is supposed to have been between *Herat* and *Balkh*; but they possessed themselves of a considerable part between *Ghazni* and *Kandahar*, in one direction, and between *Ma'idan* and *Balkh*, in the other. We find in the before quoted Memoir of H. T. Colebrooke (*As. Res.*, vol. VII. p. 343): "The Házárahs of Kábul are an innumerable tribe, who reside in Kábul, Ghazni, and Khandahar. Many of them are Shíahs, and adherents of the holy family. At present, among the chiefs of the Shiáhs is *Mirza Sha'dma'n*, with whom the faithful are well pleased, and of whose incursions the *Kha'rejis* of Kabul and Ghuzni bitterly complain."

took place, in which Miyàn Jelál eddin was wounded by the hand of *Shádmán Hazárah*, and fled to the mountains of Rabáth, where *Merad Baikh* and some of the followers of *Sherif Khan Atcah* attacked him and made an end of his affairs.

After him, *Míyán Ahdad*, the son of *Omar Shaikh*, the son of *Báyezíd*, who is known among the illustrious persons by the name of *Ahdád*, sat on the throne of authority. He was just, and an adherer to rule; he kept himself thoroughly firm in the precepts of his august predecessor; he never intended to amass wealth, but gave every one the due reward of his labor; the fifth part of the wealth which was collected from the wars against the infidels he deposited in the public storehouse, and it served to reward the meritorious warriors. In the year of the Hejira 1035 (A. D. 1625-6), under the reign of the lord, now an inhabitant of heaven, *Nur-eddin Jehángír Pádshah*, he was reduced to great straits by *Ahsan Ulla*, surnamed *Zafer Khan*, the son of *Khájah Abu-'l Hassan Tabrizí*, and by the chieftains of the Pádshah, and besieged in the fort *Navágher*, where, hit by a musket shot during an attack on the fortress, he reached the term of his life. It is said that, before the day of his death, which these sectaries call "the "day of union," Miyán Ahdád opened the book *Kháir al Bián*, and, having read in it, said to his friends: "To-morrow is my day of union:" and it

happened as he had said. The author of this book saw a pious person from Cabul, who told him: "On the day of Ahdad's death I rejoiced, and spoke "of him in bad terms; at night I saw in a dream "my master, who forbade me to do so, and said the "sacred text: "*declare that God is one,*' applies to "Ahdád." And his disciples name him *Ahdád*, "the one."

It is reported that after the "union" of Ahdád, the Afghans, having taken up *Abd ul Khader*, the son of Ahdád, betook themselves to the mountains; and the Padshah's army, who had not expected to obtain possession of the fort, entered it. The daughter of Ahdad, who had not found an opportunity of escaping, was wandering about the fortress; one of the soldiers attempted to seize her; the maiden, having thrown her veil over her eyes, precipitated herself from the wall of the fort, and met her death: every one was astonished at the deed.

After Miyan Ahdad, his son, Abd-ul Kader, sat upon the throne of religious supremacy. Having found a favorable opportunity, he attacked *Zafer Khán*, who fled with the greatest precipitation; all his baggage, with the women of his secret apartments, fell into the hands of the Afghans; but the wife of Zafer khan, named *Buzerg Khánam*, alone was preserved from violence by the efforts of the chieftains, such as Navab Sâid Khan, the son of Ahmed

Baig Khan Tarkhan. The author of this work himself heard *Peri Sultan*, a person from nature possessed of vigor and worth, who has now received the title of *Zú-'l Fakár khán*, say: "When, by order "of Sâid Khan, I went to invite Abd-ul Khader to "submit, I brought with me a great variety of vic-"tuals and liquors, that he might be seduced by "their effect. One day, an aged Afghan, after hav-"ing tasted some sweetmeats, rose on his legs and "said: 'O Abd-ul Khader, from the time of thy "'honored ancestors to this day, never the foot of "'a Moghúl reached this place; he who is now "'come intends to deceive thee, with garments red "'and yellow, and with victuals pleasing and sweet, "'which are coveted by those who are slaves of "'their belly, but which are abhorrent to the "'rule of durvishes: the best measure therefore "'is to put him to death, as an example to terrify "'others from coming hither.' But Abd-ul Kha-"der and his mother, *Bibi Alái*, the daughter of Mí-"yan Jelal eddin, would not agree to it. On the "day when Abd-ul Khader visited the camp of *Sâid "Khán*, his horse was frightened at the noise of the "kettle-drums and horns, and dashed from amid the "crowd to one side; an Afghan observed: 'The "'horse executes what the lord Miyan Róshen has "'ordered, but you do not; be sure you shall suf-"'fer from the after-sickness of this debauch.'

" Abd-ul Khader asked: ' What has Miyan or-
" ' dered?' The Afghan replied: ' To keep at a
" ' distance, and to beware of the Moghuls." ' When Abd-ul Khader presented himself at the court of the lord *Abúl Mazafer Shaháb-eddin Muhammed, Sáheb-i-Kerán sání Amír al Múmenín shah Jehan Pádshah, gházy*, " the victorious," he was elevated to a high rank. In the year of the Hejira 1043 (A. D. 1633-4) he reached his last day, and was buried at Paishaver.

Mirza, the son of *Núr-eddín*, lived in the reign of the lord *Amír al Múmenín Shah Jehán*, and was killed in the battle of Dóulet-abad. Kerimdad, the son of Jelal eddin, was delivered up by the tribe of the Jelalian to *Muhammed Yakub Kashmírí*, the *Vakíl*, " agent," of *Sâíd Khán Terkhán*, and he was put to death in the year of the Hejira 1048 (A. D. 1638-9). *Alhedád Khán*, the son of Jelal-eddin, having been honored with the title of *Rashíd Khán*, was appointed to a command of four thousand in the Dekan, and ended the term of this life in the year of the Hejira 1058 (A. D. 1648-9).[1]

[1] We find in the Asiatic Researches (vol. XI. from p. 363 to 418), a translation of this chapter, with a Memoir on the Rosheniah sect by the late Doctor John Leyden, whose early death in Java will ever be regretted as a great loss to Oriental literature. In his researches relative to the language and literature of the Afghans, he met with a work in the Afghan or Pashtu languge, entitled *Makhan Afhgans'*, a miscellaneous compilation on the ritual and moral practice of Islam, composed by *Akhun* (Mulla) *Derwezeh*, a character celebrated in Afghanistan chiefly for his

CHAPTER X.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE ILAHI AH: IN FOUR SECTIONS.

SECTION I.—On the appearance of the Khalifet of God, and some of the miracles, called *Burhan.*

SECTION II.—On the dispute of the professors of different religions and creeds in the service of the lord, the Khalifet of God, and the Burahin of the Khalifet of God.

SECTION III.—On the virtues of the stars.

SECTION IV.—On the ordinances of conduct.

sanctity, and belonging to the tribe of *Tajek.* This word in general signifies "peasant, or cultivator of ground;" but is in particular applied to those who are not Arabs, and by the Moghuls to the natives of Iran, who are neither of Arab nor Moghul extraction, probably of a mixed origin. They extend from the mountains of *Cheta'r*, in *Kashgar*, as far as *Balkh* and *Kandahar*, and live either under their own chiefs, or subject and tributary to the Afghans, Turkmans, or Usbek Tartars, among whom they reside. The Tajiks always showed themselves adverse to the Rosheniahs, and Akbun Derwezeh in the said work contradicts and blames the tenets and opinions of Bayazid, whom he calls the "master of darkness." In the extract given by Leyden, of Derwezeh's account, we see that the doctrine of the Rosheniahs coincided in several points with that of the Ismaliahs: Bayazid, in like manner as the latter, established eight degrees of perfection, through which his sectaries were to pass, and which led to an entire dereliction of all positive religion, and an unrestrained licentiousness in manners and practices. The account given by the author of the Dabistan is far from provoking so severe a blame. As to the history of Bayazid's life and that of his sons — highway robbery, devastation, and bloodshed are evidently practised by them, in the recital of both authors. The Memoir of the learned Leyden abounds with curious and important information respecting the Afghan tribes, to which the present events in Western India can but lend a higher interest. Some reputed followers of Bayazid are still to be found both in Peishavir and Kabul, most numerous among the wild tribes of the *Yusefzei*.

Section I.—On the appearance of the Khalifet of the All-Just.

An account of the lord Khalifet, "Vicar," *of God.*—The author of this book heard from *Khájah Masâud*, the son of *Khájah Mahmúd*, the son of *Khájah Mirshed al hak*, who was a pious master of worldly concerns, what follows: "My honored father said he had "heard from his noble ancestors, that the lord of "the faith and of the world will appear; but he "knew not whether that lord's time was already "come, or will come; meanwhile he saw him one "night in a dream; when he rose from sleep, he "went to the country where that august personage "was born, that is on Sunday of the month *Rajeb* "(the seventh Arabian month), in the year of the "Hejira 949 (A. D. 1545), the lord *Jelal eddin Akbar*, "the august son of *Hamáyún Pádshah* and of the "praise-worthy *Bánú Bêgam* was born." The writer of this work heard also in the year of the Hejira 1053 (A. D. 1643-4), in Lahore, from *Mirzá Sháh Muhammed*, surnamed *Khaznín Khán*, the son of shah *Baigh Khán*, with the surname of *Khán Douran*, a native of Arghún, who is said to have asked from the Naváb *Aziz Kóka*, surnamed *Khán Aâzem*, what observation he had to make upon the rumor current relative to the Lord, the inhabitant of the ninth heaven, as to

his being like the Messiah? He answered: "What "the mother said, is the truth."[1]

Section II. — On the dispute of the people of different religions.

In the service of the khalifah were two learned persons, the one a Sonnite, and the other a Shiâh, who both sought admittance at court. The emperor called them, and by their desire in his presence they endeavored to establish the truth of their respective religions. The Shiâh said: "It is evident "that the Sonnites are without faith, because they "do not acknowledge the prophet's purity, and say "that David caused Uriá to be killed." The Sonnite replied: "This fact is equally mentioned in the "Koran and in the *Tóurît*, 'Pentateuch,' explicitly "and circumstantially." A Jew was present, and affirmed: "It is certainly in the Pentateuch." Upon which the Shiâh rejoined: "The Pentateuch is al-"tered." The Jew retorted: "We may as well, "and with a better right, say that your book is "altered, whilst there is no reason to be urged that "the Pentateuch is corrupted." The Shiâh had

[1] The author does not mention any particular miracle, which we had reason to expect from the preceding title of this section.

no answer to give, and the author of this book saw in the treatises of several of the modern learned, that they have appropriated this answer to themselves. The Shiâh again said: " The godly Ali was a very " learned and most excellent man, and never pol- " luted his lips with wine, nor pork, nor any thing " dressed by the infidels." To which the Sonnite replied: " As with you the hand of an infidel is im- " pure, and the Korésh all drank wine and eat pork, " the prophet, who associated with them, eat the " same food in the house of his paternal uncles, and " so did the lord, the godly Ali." The Shiâh had no suitable reply to make to this observation; he continued however: " In the *Malul* and *Nahel*, it is " stated that the pure Fátima[1] declared, The palm- " grove of *Fedak*[2] is my inheritance, as the lord of

[1] According to Muhammed's sayings, no more than four women obtained perfection, to wit: *Asia*, the wife of Pharaoh; *Mary*, the daughter of Imran (the blessed Virgin); *Khadija'*, the prophet's wife, and *Fatima*, his daughter.

[2] *Fedak*, according to Abulfeda (I. 133. 273), is a castle near the town of *Khaibar;* this is a place fertile in palm-trees in the Arabian province of *Hejaz*, four days' journey distant from Mecca. It was given to Muhammed by the faithful, under the name of alms. After the prophet's death, Fátima claimed it as a patrimony; but Abubekr refused it to her, setting forth the above mentioned saying of the prophet. Abulfeda, whom I follow, gives it as follows:

نحن معاشر الانبياء لانورث ماتركناه صدقة

The words لانورث are not in the quotation of the Dabistán, edit. of Calcutta, nor in the manuscript of Oude. Thus was Fedak taken from

" the prophetic asylum committed it to me as a " *tamlik* (hereditary property) during his life-time. " But the prophet has said :

" ' We, the company of prophets, do not leave to our heirs what has " ' been bestowed on us as a gift or as alms.'

" On the strength of which Sádik (Abu bekr) " rejected her claim. But even were this tradition " irrefragable, how could he reject the claim of a " *tamlik*, if that tradition, by which the rejection of " such an inheritance never takes place, be acknow- " ledged to be right?" The Sonnite opposed to this : " The splendid lady had no witnesses that " the law could accept ; as the evidence of hus- " band, or son, or grandson, is not admissible." The Shiâh insisted : " Sádik was wrong. And the " burning of the court[1] in sequel of the mortal

the race of Ali and fell into the hands of Mervan, in whose family it remained until Omar declared it again to belong to alms, and assigned the usufruct of it to the Alides. But *Mamun*, the seventh khalif of the Abbasides, who reigned from Hejira 198 to 218 (A. D. 813–833), gave it formally over to *Muhammed*, son of *Yahia*, son of *Hassan*, son of *Zaid*, son of *Ali*, son of *Hassan*, son of *Ali*, son of *Abu Taleb*. — (*Abulfeda*, II. p. 167).

[1] Muhammed had scarcely expired, when a vehement contest about the succession to his dignity arose between the *Mohajirin*, " the emigrants " from Mecca with the prophet," and the *Ansar*, " the protectors (see note, p. 27) : both claimed the right of nomination. Abubekr was pro- claimed by both. To crush the resistance of Ali, who was the legitimate competitor, Omar, sent by Abu-bekr, burnt the gate, and was about to set on fire the house of Ali — scarcely restrained from the act by the reproach of Fátima, Muhammed's daughter and Ali's wife, who from

" malady of the prophet; and the repentance which " was the consequence of it? and the like, what " dost thou say about it? Moreover, Omar's im- " peding the writing of a last will in the mortal " malady of the prophet, as the Imám *Ismâil Bok-* " *hâri*[1] has related upon the authority of *Abd-ulla*, " the son of *Abas*, that in his mortal malady the " house of the prophet was full of his companions. " He said:

" Make haste, let me put down a writing for your sake, in order that, " after me, you may be safe against error and deceit."

" But Omar said: ' The prophet is overcome by " ' the malady, and his intellect is obstructed; the " ' heavenly book, and the proofs of the text of the " ' Koran are sufficient for us.' On which ac- " count accumulated contradictions and conflict- " ing discussions rose to such a height that the pro- " phet said: ' Leave me.' The Sonnite resumed: " The prophet himself declared:

that moment till her death never spoke to any of the enemies of her husband. The prophet, according to authentic traditions, said: " Whoever " gives offence to Fatimah gives offence to me; and whoever offends me, " offends God."

[1] Muhammed, son of Ismâil al Jisfi, called *Bocha'ri*, from his native town in Mazinderan, lived from the year of the Hejira 194 to 256 (A. D. 809–869). He is chiefly celebrated by a work composed, as he says himself, at the prophet's tomb at Madina, from six hundred thousand traditions, and called *Masnad es sahih*, the sincere (just) Masnad. " Mas- " nad" signifies a collection of traditions, each of which is accompanied with the name of the traditionist by whom it was handed down.

I am a man like you, but I speak from inspiration."

" In eating, dress, repose, affliction, health, sick-
" ness, wounds, in life and death, his condition was
" that of mankind: thus, some teeth of the vener-
" able were knocked out,[1] and in his last malady
" he was exceedingly suffering, so that in the vio-
" lence of his pain he might have said things which
" were not consonant with a sound mind. On that
" account Omar forbade his writing." The Shiâh remarked: "When the prophet had left the garment
" of mortality, Omar drew his sword, and threat-
" ened to kill whosoever would say that the prophet
" died, because he was still living; such a declara-
" tion, how can it be reconciled with his impeding
" the writing of the last will in the manner before
" said?" The Sonnite avowed: " Mankind is sub-
" ject to error." The Shiâh pressed further: " Af-
" ter the contention, when Osmân was appointed
" khalif, his relations of the family of Omiyah
" practised oppression under his authority, and he
" brought back Hakim, the son of As',[2] the son of

[1] This happened in the battle of Ohod (so is called a mountain half an hour's distance from Madina, on the route of Mecca). Muhammed fought with seven hundred men against more than three thousand Korcish from Mecca, in the third year of the Hejira (A. D. 624). Otba, the son of Vaccasi, and brother of Sàd, who fought on the prophet's side, hit him with a stone, so as to knock out four incisors of his inferior jaw.

[2] The edition of Calcutta and the manuscript of Oude have erroneously: " Hakim, the son of *Mervan*," instead of *As'*, which I substituted for

" Omiyah, to Medina, from whence the prophet had
" banished him, so that he was called ' the banished
" ' of the prophet,' although Sádik (Abubekr) and
" Fárúk (Omar) had not called him. Further, Os-
" man expelled Abázer from Medina; he also gave
" his daughter in marriage to Merván, the son of
" Hakim, with the fifth part of the spoils of Afrika,
" which amounted to forty thousand gold dinárs.[1]
" Besides, he granted security to Abd-ullah, the son
" of Serj;[2] although the lord of the prophetic asy-
" lum had ordered his blood to be shed; and he
" conferred on him the administration of Egypt;
" he consigned also to Abd-ullah, the son of Aa-
" mar, the government of Bas'ra, where he indulged
" himself in all sorts of shameful actions. Among
" the Umrás of his army were *Máavíah*, the son of
" Abi Safián, the collector of *Shám* (Syria), and *Sâid*,
" the son of *Alâas'*, the collector of Kúfa. After-
" wards, *Abd-ullah*, the son of *Aamer*; and *Valíd*, the

Mervan, according to Abulfeda, I. p. 271. Elmacin (*Hist. Sarac.*, p. 38) reads " Hakim, son of *Abu'l-As'*."

[1] Abulfeda (I. p. 271) says 500,000 gold coins. Elmacin (*loco cit.*, p. 39) states five talents of Africa, said to be worth 504,000 gold pieces.

[2] Abulfeda (I. p. 261) mentions *Abdalla*, son of *Sâd*, son of *Abu Sarh*, Amerite, a foster-brother of Osman (*ibid.*, p. 154). Elmacin (*loco cit.*, p. 39) calls him *Abdalla*, son of *Sa'id*, son of *Abu Jerh*, who had been a writer of revelations, and who, because he had apostatised from Islamism, would have been put to death by the prophet, after the taking of Mecca, in the eighth year of the Hejira (A. D. 629), if Osman had not interceded for him.

" son of *Akba Abd-ullah*, the son of *Sâd*, the son of " *Abi Serj*; all these trod the road of perverseness " and unrighteousness." The Sonnite had no convenient reply to make. The Shiâh continued: " The prophet sent three friends to fight to a place " called *Tabúk*;[1] they disagreed: after which the " prophet declared: 'Whoever causes discord in " 'the army or service, the curse of God be upon " 'him.'" The Sonnite here fell in: " At the time " of the prophet's moving, it was not advisable to " undertake the expedition designed; there was no " disunion about the war among them; but only a " discussion about the fitting out of the troops and " the arrangements; whence a delay in this affair " arose, on account of settling the proper order of " march and other proceedings." The Shiâh went on: " What the Sonnites attribute to God and the

[1] This relates to an expedition which Muhammed undertook, in the ninth year of the Hejira (A. D. 630), towards *Tabúk*, a place situated about half-way between *Madína* and *Damascus*, beyond the limits of Arabia; it was in the midst of the summer heats, at a time of great drought and scarcity; besides the fruits were then just ripe, and the people had much rather have remained to gather them. But the first cause of discontent was the exaction of a tribute for covering the expense of the expedition. Abubekr, Omar, Osman, Alí, Talha, Abder rahmen, contributed largely to it; others declined their pecuniary and personal aid; three of the *ans'ars*, friends above alluded to (see p. 27), were permitted to remain. Alí staid at Madina as lieutenant of the prophet, who moved with an army of thirty thousand men to the frontiers of Syria, which were defended by an equal force of Greeks. He encamped during twenty days near Tabúk, and then thought it necessary to retreat.

" prophet, cannot be ascribed to the lowest man." The Sonnite asked: " What is that?" The Shiâh answered: " One of these things, stated in the book " of your traditions, is that the lord prophet, having " exhibited before Aâisha dance and disport, asked " her: ' Art thou satisfied?' Such a thing cannot " in truth be said of any body without disgrace. " Besides, there are acts unbecoming of the pro- " phet's companions, such as Omar's preventing " Muhammed's last will, and the like, avowed by " themselves in their book; and yet they hold these " men in high esteem!" Here the Sonnite observed: " What thou first settest forth about the prophet's " exhibition of disport, is nothing shameful; as to " what thou sayest about bad customs, they belong " only to thy own vicious opinion. Deniest thou " that the prophet has said:

" ' I am sent to settle the customs and manners.'

" If a fact has not existed or has not happened, " why should it have been recorded?" The Shiâh called out: " It has been invented and formed into " a lie." The Sonnite objected: " Thus, according " to thy opinion, the master of truth, Bokhari and " the like, are tellers of lies, and thus they have " transmitted lies! Why then, on their authority " believest thou that Omar has prevented the mak- " ing of the last will, and other such things, which,

" according to thee throw blame upon the compa-
" nions of the prophet? Therefore, in whatever of
" all these things according to thy opinion is unbe-
" coming, thou shoulst believe that the master of
" truth, Bokhâri, and those like him, have told lies,
" so wouldst thou cease to cast reproach upon the
" companions and friends of the prophet; but if they
" spoke truth, then reckon also to be true, what
" they have attributed as praise-worthy to the pro-
" phet, and true what they have stated of the virtues
" of the said companions. Further, as to thy sepa-
" rating the prophet from mankind, it belongs, as it
" has been revealed by the divine text, to the creed
" of unbelievers to say, that the prophet should not
" eat nor drink." Now the Shiâh grew warm, and said: " Is it not enough to attach to the lord pro-
" phet the blame of having listened to music and
" assisted at dancing; and now thou pretendest to
" prove the purity of the two Shaikhs (Abubekr and
" Omar) and of Osmán!" The Sonnite took up the controversy: " I said before that listening to
" music is reasonably not blamable, and even laud-
" able, when a lawgiver also listens to it, and I
" observed, concerning customs and manners, that
" thou esteemest bad what thou hast badly under-
" stood. As thou refusest to approve dancing,
" what sayest thou about the interdiction of a wo-
" man from her spouse at the desire of the pro-

" phet?[1] If thou holdest the example of customary " acts reprehensible, there is nothing to be said " about such an occurrence. And likewise, if the " two Shaikhs had not been pure, the lord prophet " would not have exalted their heads by matrimo- " nial alliance; and the daughter of the lord Ali and " the lord prophet would never have been in the " house of the great *Fáruk* (Omar), and of the pos- " sessor of two lights (Osman). To open the road " of contention is not laudable; and if not so ac- " cording to thy opinion, explain this to me: since " the lord, the lion of God (Ali) was informed of all " the secrets of the hearts, why did he wage war " upon Mâaviah, who was a Muselmán? and why " was he the death of so many men, since causing " death is by no means right?[2] It is likewise known

[1] If I am not mistaken, allusion is here made to *Zeinah* (Zenobia), the wife of Zaid. Muhammed, having gone one day to the house of the latter, who was not at home, found Zeinah in a dress which permitted him to remark her beauties, with which he was so smitten, that he could not refrain from an exclamation betraying his sensation. Zeinah did not fail to apprise her husband. Zeid then thought he could not do less than to place his wife by a divorce at the disposition of his master and benefactor, whose slave he had once been, and by whom he was not only affranchised, but adopted as a son. On that very account, Muhammed was prevented by law from marrying Zeinah; but he procured to himself an authorization from heaven, in a verse of the Koran (chap. XXXIII. v. 36), and after the term of Zeinah's divorce, took to wife the object of his desires, at the latter end of the fifth year of the Hejira (A. D. 626).

[2] During the contest between Ali and Moaviah, the armies of both chiefs were in the year of the Hejira 37 (A. D. 657) encamped opposite

" and admitted by you as true that, when one day a " Muselman was selling garlic and onions upon the " passage of the prophet, that venerable personage " told him: ' If thou wouldst sit down in a corner, " ' retiring out of my way, it would be well." " The man made an excuse, and the prophet passed " on. Shortly after came Alí, who said to the man: " ' The prophet dislikes the smell of onions and " ' garlic, therefore move out of his way.' The man " answered: ' O Alí, the prophet told me to rise, " ' and I did not move.' Alí said: ' At the pro- " ' phet's order thou didst not rise?' He drew " immediately his sword, and cut off the man's " head. Such an action is reprobated by the law, " as the lord of the prophetic asylum forbade killing " even the hostile unbelievers, saying:

" ' Do not exceed in shedding blood, even if thou be a conqueror.'

" And by historical accounts it is known that he " has blamed Ibrahim for having driven an unbe- " liever from his board. Nushírván,[1] who was not " crowned with the diadem of the right faith, is cele-

to each other in a plain on the banks of the Euphrates, called by the Greeks *Barbelissos* or *Barabrissos*, and by the Arabs *Safin*; and in ninety engagements, which took place between them in a hundred and ten days, on the side of Moaviah fell forty-five thousand, and on that of Alí twenty-five thousand men. In the night which preceded the decisive day of Safin, Alí is said to have killed with his own hand four hundred enemies.—(*Abulfeda*, vol. I. pp. 305-313.)

[1] See vol. I. pp. 103-104, note 1.

" brated, because he sat upon the throne of justice,
" and one of his most approved actions was, that
" he withheld his hand from an old woman's house,
" which was an hinderance in the vicinity of his
" palace, and preferred to waste his own fields;
" and the lord of the prophetic asylum, because
" he appeared upon the field of testimony in the time
" of this king, exalted his fame and glory by these
" words:

" I was born in the time of the just king.[1]

" How can it be right to believe that the prophet,
" the last of the age, should be pleased with the
" destruction of a Muselman; he who would not
" disturb the people who, engaged in their trade
" and occupation, obstructed his passage? he who
" said:

" ' He who kills willingly a believer shall have hell for eternal
" ' punishment;'

" He cannot have acted by that rule; he who de-
" clares:

[1] Muhammed, according to his traditions, was born in the twentieth year of Nushirvan's reign, which, as this king began to reign A. D. 531, would be in 551. This does not agree with the date of the prophet's death in 632, at the age of sixty-three years, about which the best historians are unanimous. For the same reason, the date of his birth, as stated by Silvestre de Sacy, on the 20th April, 571, cannot be true. According to Weisi, Muhammed was born in the thirty-eighth year of Nushirvan's reign, on the 1st of April, 569, which was a Monday, and it was on a Monday he was born and died (see *Gemäldesaal Mosl., Herrsher Iter Band, Seite* 22, note).

" ' God will not give to a soul more trouble than it can bear;'

" Such an action is not that of a virtuous man; this however is related (of Alí) by your learned men, " and likewise joking and buffooning, which indi- " cates a want of dignity, degraded him." The Shiâh said: " Nevertheless, he was certainly the " most excellent of all the companions of the pro- " phet." The Sonnite asked: " In knowledge or " in practice?" The Shiâh replied: " In both " knowledge and practice." The Sonnite resumed: " This we do not hold for certain; in what respect " was he superior in practice to the chief of the be- " lievers, Omar?" The Shiâh answered: " Alí used " to pray the whole night." The Sonnite rejoined: " According to your own account, the lord Ali " wanted a woman every night; and his custom, " (called *matâh*)[1] was to engage one for a short time; " and so many did he occupy, that he seemed an " unceasing bridegroom;[2] how could a person so " employed pray the whole night? unless in your " religion you call praying what we call by another " name." The Shiâh interrupted him saying: " You are liars from the very beginning. Abu Ha- " nífa, your great Imám, was a native of Kabul, and " attached himself particularly to the service of

[1] متعه.

[2] کہ لنگ او حشک نشدی " ut membrum ejus nunquam siccum esset."

" Imám Jâfr Sádik; at last he left him, and pro-
" fessed openly the religion of his fathers, who were
" Magi. A sign of the Magian creed was, that he
" thought it right to eat three times a-day, and to lay
" aside all choice of diet, as well as not to reckon
" the unbelievers impure, saying that impurity
" resides in the interior, if any where, and the
" like."

The Sonnite remarked: "Thou thyself agreest that
" Abu Hanífa was a follower of the Imám Jâfr, there-
" fore he most likely practised what was conform-
" able to the religion of the Imám Jâfr. We do
" not admit that your people are attached to the
" religion of the Imám; we rather believe that they
" are Magi; for when your ancestors were conquered
" and subjected, they, by necessity, joined the Is-
" lámian, but mixed the right faith with the creed of
" the Magi: as it appears from the worship called
" *nóu róz*, which is a custom of the Magi; according
" to whom they likewise perform divine worship
" three times a day. They think it right to turn
" the head in praying to the left, which is turning
" off from the Kiblah (of Mecca); they assert that
" the five prayers every day are improper, as they
" are not able to perform them exactly; they main-
" tain, however, as requisite those at midday, before
" sunset, and in the evening on going to sleep. In
" the same manner, they took the *matâh*, or tem-

" porary matrimonial unions, from the Mazhda-
" kian."[1]

All the Shiâhs have founded their creed upon two rules: the first is the *Bedas* (Védas); these were promulgated with the view to surround us with power and magnificence, or with the modes of happiness, which brilliant prospects have not been realized; it was said that the lord of divine majesty dictated the Veda. The second rule is godliness; by which men are freed from all the propensities of nature. The Shiâhs are of this persuasion; and when they are asked about the manner of it, they say: By means of godliness we experience the non-reality of exterior things.

The Vedá treats of theology, and of what may appear contrary to divinity; it explains the will[2] which on the part of the perverse may be manifested contrary to the will of the (supreme) judge. The Véda moreover treats of practice: when an action tends towards one thing, and when, after or before its accomplishment, it turns towards something else.

[1] See vol. I. p. 377.

[2] إرادة *ira'det.* " will " (upon this word see an explanation hereafter); it is one of the names of the first minister, or of the universal intelligence in the mystic language of the Druzes (see *Chrestom. Ar.*, tome II. p. 243). This sect belongs to the Ismâilahs, who appear to have borrowed much from the Indian philosophy.

The unbelievers, who are in opposition to the prophet assert, that he has adopted the morals of Amrál Kaîs[1] and mixed them with the Koran, that likewise he has frequently made usè therein of the ideas of other poets, and even frequently gave place in it to the usages of paganism, with which he had been pleased. There are other controversies current. It will be best to attend to the following observation: What avail the doubts of the Shiâhs? They attack in their speecliës the Vicars of the prophet; when the first party (the Sonnites) repress the answer to it upon their tongues, let the other party too refrain from dispute.

The arguments being carried to this point, the khalif of God dismissed the parties.

One day a Nazarene came to pay his submissive respects to the khalif of God, and challenged any of

[1] Amrál Kais, son of Hajr, king of the Arabs of the tribe of *Kendah*, according to Herbelot, of *Asad*, was, according to Sale, one of the greatest poets before Muhammedism, and one of the seven, whose compositions were suspended upon silken stuff in golden letters in the temple of Mecca, and therefore called *moallakat*, "suspended." His poems, translated by Sir W. Jones (vol. X. of his Works), are amatory, and have nothing of religion which Muhammed could borrow. Amrálkals was one of the adversaries of the prophet, and wrote satires and invectives against him, which were answered by *Labi'd*, another of the seven poets, but who ranged himself on the side of Muhammed. The Arabian prophet certainly took many tenets and customs from former times and religions: thus he confirmed the holiness of the temple of Mecca and its environs, which were held in veneration long before him; thus he adopted from Judaism several laws relating to marriages, divorces, etc., etc.

learned among the Muselmans to dispute with him. The proposal being accepted, the Nazarene began: "Do you believe in Aisa (Jesus)?" The Muselman answered: "Certainly; we acknowledge him as a "prophet of God; our prophet bore testimony to "the divine mission of Jesus." The Nazarene continued: "This prophet (the Messiah) has announced "that after him many will appear who will pretend "to a prophetic office; yet 'believe not in them, "'nor follow them, for they are liars; but remain "'you steadfast and firm in my faith, until I come "'again.' There is no mention of your prophet in "the Gospel." The Muselman replied: "Mention "of him was in the Pentateuch[1] and in the Gos-

[1] As the Arabians descend from Ismail, the brother of Isaak, they take to themselves the blessing which God, in Genesis (XVII. 20), pronounced upon him and his posterity; and in the twelve princes who, according to the same verse, were to issue from him, they see their twelve Imâms, Alî and the rest (see vol. II. p. 367). They believe also that the prophet, who, as God announced to Moses in the Pentateuch (Deuteronomy, XVIII. 18), would rise from the Ismailites, was Muhammed. According to Abul Firaj (*Specimen Hist. Arab.*, 14. 17), the Muhammedans find in a passage of the Pentateuch (Deuter., XXXIII. 2) indicated the descent of the law to Moses upon mount Sinai; that of the Gospel to Jesus upon mount Sair; and that of the Koran to Muhammed upon mount Pharan, near Mecca. Further, in Psalm L. v. 2. they imagine that in the words: "Manifestavit Deus e Sione coronam laudatam, *acti-* "*lan mahmudan*," by *actilan*, "crown," is to be understood "king- "dom," and by *mahmudan*, "praised," the very name of Muhammed. But this passage is translated in our Bible: "Out of Sion hath God "appeared in perfect beauty." They find also passages applicable to their prophet in Isaiah XXII. 6. 7. 9: XLII. 1. 7. 16. 17.; and the whole

" pel,[1] but your principal men obliterated it." The Nazarene asked: " Do you possess that Gospel " which is correct?" The Muselman avowed: " We " do not." Then the Nazarene resumed: " Hence " your falsehood is evident; you deny the Gospel; " for if you did not, you would preserve it, as we, " who are Christians, preserve the Pentateuch, " which is the book of Moses; but you keep neither " the Pentateuch nor the Gospel, and if there had " been mentioned in the Gospel any thing of your " prophet, we would without doubt, according to " the words of Jesus, adhere to it, because, in con-

chapter LXIII. 1. 6. etc.; moreover in Habacuc, III. 3. etc. Besides, the town of Medina, being inhabited by a tribe of conquered Jews, who were expecting a promised Messiah, Muhammed presented himself as one for all nations; and the credulous-easily confounded him who was expected by the Jews with the upstart Arabian prophet.

[1] The Moslims have a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to Saint Barnabas, in which, it is said, they have inserted the very name of their prophet *Muhammed, Ahmed, Mahmud,* as being the translation of the Greek word περικλυτος, *periclytos*, " famous, illustrious," which they have substituted for παρακλητος, *paraclètos*, " comforter, called upon, *advo-* " *catus*;" which is found in St. John's Gospel, XIV. 26; XV. 26; XVI. 7.; and by which is designated Jesus, or the Holy Ghost (see Sale's *Koran*, Prel. Disc., p. 98). The interpretation of the word *periclytos* might also have found place in the Arabian translation of the Bible, made by Werka, the cousin of Muhammed's first wife. Whatever it be, we read in chap. LXI. v. 6. of the Koran: " And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said: " ' O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God, sent unto you, " ' confirming the law which was delivered before me, and bringing " ' good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name " ' shall be *Ahmed*.' "

" formity with our faith, our desire is to obey the " precepts of Jesus. But now, whence can we " know that your prophet is true?" The Musel- " man said: " From his miracles, one of which is " the dividing of the moon."[1] The Nazarene observed upon this: " If the dividing of the moon has " taken place, the inhabitants of the world must " have seen it, and the recorders of extraordinary " things in all countries, and the historians of all " nations would have written it down with the pen " of truth. Now none, except Muselmans, give any " information of it." There was an Hindú present; the Nazarene asked him: " In the Kali yug, which " is the fourth of your ages, has the moon been once " divided?" And he addressed the same question to the Persians and Turks there present; all said:

[1] This miracle has perhaps no other foundation but the atmospheric phenomena of a double moon which was seen in Mecca, four or five years before the Hejira. Some ascribed it to Muhammed on the infidels demanding a sign of him; the moon then appeared cloven in two; one part vanishing and the other remaining: it was affirmed that the mount Hara was seen interposing between the two sections. To this the believers refer chapter LIV of the Koran, entitled *the moon*, which begins by these words: " The hour approacheth, and the moon hath been split asunder.', The most intelligent expounders understand in the first word the hour of judgment; others think, that in the rest the preter tense is used, in the prophetic style, for the future; and that the passage should be thus rendered: " The moon shall be split asunder:" for this, they say, is to happen at the resurrection.—(See Sale's *Koran*, vol. II. p. 405). In the subsequent section, " upon the interpretation of the prophet's miracle," this subject is particularly treated.

" We have not seen any thing like it in our histori-
" cal accounts." The Muselman remained con-
founded.

Another day, a Jew presented himself; the lord khalif of God placed the Nazarene in opposition to him for a religious discussion. The Jew began: " In the Pentateuch, there is no mention made of " Jesus." The Nazarene replied: " How not? " Does not David say: ' My hands and my feet fall " ' off, and all my bones are counted.' This is a " prediction of the sufferings and of the crucifixion " of Jesus." The Jew remarked upon this: " What-
" ever David may have said of himself, and the All-
" Just have announced by his tongue, should all this " be taken for a prediction of Jesus?" The Nazarene pursued: " But the conception of a virgin was " predicted, and this virgin was Mary." The Jew objected: " Amongst us, the virginity of Mary is not " proved, as, according to your belief, before the " birth of Jesus, she was married to Joseph the " carpenter, and Jesus is said to be the son of Joseph " the carpenter." The Nazarene admitted: " This " is true; but," he added: " Joseph had never " touched Mary." The Jew opposed: " How is " that proved?" And this was the question which the Jew repeated at every thing which the Nazarene brought forward, so that the latter was reduced to silence.

A learned philosopher came into the hall, where Hindus also were present, and three other learned men; a Muselman, a Nazarene, and a Jew: these were summoned, and ranged in opposition to the learned philosopher. The latter opened the discussion in this manner: "The divine mission of "your prophets has not been proved, for several reasons: the first is, that whatever the prophet says "ought to be conformable to reason; the second is, "that he ought to be free from crime, and not hurtful to other beings. But Moses, according to the "opinion of the Jews, was brought up by Pharâoh, "and yet he caused him by a stratagem to be "drowned in the waters of the Nile, and listened "not to his repentance. What they say of the "water of the Nile having opened a passage to "Moses, is an error. Nor did he attend to the "repentance of Kárún (Korah),[1] but, from covetousness of gold, he caused him to be swallowed up by the earth. Jesus permitted the kill-

[1] According to Richardson's Dict., edit. of F. Johnson: "Kárún is "supposed to be the same person called Korah (Numbers, chap. XVI) "whom the Muhammedans describe as the cousin of Moses. He is frequently alluded to by the poets and moralists, not only as being extremely handsome, but as possessed of immense wealth, acquired by his "skill in chemistry, and the discovery of the philosopher's stone; whilst "his avarice is represented as so remarkable, that his name is proverbially applied to all misers. They add, that it was on account of his "refusal to pay Moses a tithe of his possessions for the public use, that "the earth opened and swallowed him up."

" ing and ill using of animals. And Muhammed " himself attacked the forces and caravans of the " Koreish; he shed blood, nay, with his own hand " put to death animated beings. He besides ex- " ceeded all bounds in sexual connexions, and in " taking the wives of other men; so that, on account " of his gazing, a wife was separated from her hus- " band,[1] and the like are notorious of him. With " these perverse qualities, how then shall we recog- " nise a prophet?" All concurred in declaring: " By miracles." The philosopher asked: " What " are the miracles of your prophets?" The Jew answered: " Thou must have heard of Moses's " wand, which became a serpent." The doctor immediately took up his girdle, breathed upon it, and it became a great serpent, which hissed and turned towards the Jew; but the philosopher stretched out his hand, and took it back, saying: " Lo, the miracle of Moses!" whilst the Jew, from fear, had scarcely any life left in his body, and could not recover his breath again. Now the Christian said: " The Messiah was born without a fa- " ther." The doctor replied: " You yourselves " say that Joseph, the carpenter, had taken Mary " to wife; how can it be made out that Jesus was " not the son of Joseph?" The Nazarene was re-

[1] See p. 39. note 1, relative to Zaid and Zeinah.

duced to silence. The Mahomedan took up the word, and said: "Our prophet brought forth the "Korán, divided the moon, and ascended to hea- "ven." The philosopher observed upon this: "It "is stated in your sacred book:

"'And they say: We will by no means believe on thee, until thou "'cause a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth, or thou "'have a garden of palm trees and vines, and thou cause rivers to spring "'forth from the midst of this palm plantation; or that thou throw down "'upon the earth the heaven torn in pieces; or that thou bring down "'God Almighty and the angels to vouch for thee; or thou have a house "'of gold; or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven: neither will we "'believe thy ascending, until thou cause a book to descend unto us "'which we may read. The answer is in this way: Say, O Muhammed, "'pure is God the nourisher, I am but a man-prophet.'[1]

"From this an equitable judge can conclude, he "who could not cause a spring of running water "to come forth, how could he have shown the mira- "cles which are related of him? when he had not "the power of tearing the heaven in pieces, in what "manner could he divide the moon? when he was "unable to show the angels, how could he see Ja- "bríil with his own eyes? and his companions too "did not behold him in the shape of an Arab; when "he was unable, in the presence of unbelievers, to "go to heaven with his body, how did he perform

[1] Koran, chap. XVII. v. 92-93. The Dabistán gives the Arabic text and the Persian translation, which last I have followed. It agrees, except in a few words, with the English version of Sale, and the French of M. Kasimirsky.

" the bodily ascension (ascribed to him in the Ko-
" ran)? As he brought thence no writing, in what
" way came the Koran down from heaven?"

A follower of Zerdusht, who stood in a corner, now interrupted the philosopher, saying: " Main-
" tain all this, but do not deny miracles *in general*,
" for our prophet too ascended to heaven." The doctor replied: " You admit the existence of Yez-
" dán and Ahrimán, in order that Yezdán may not
" be said to be the author of evil; but you also assert,
" that Ahrimán sprung forth from the evil thought
" of the all-just Lord; therefore he sprung from
" God, and evil originates from God, the All-Just:
" you are therefore wrong in the fundamental prin-
" ciple, the very root of your religion, and wrong
" must be every branch which you derive from it."

A learned Brahman here took up the discussion: " Thou deniest the prophetic missions; but our
" Avatárs rest upon these missions." The doctor said: " You at first acknowledge one God, and then
" you say that, having descended from his solitude,
" he assumed a great body; but God is not clothed
" with a body, which belongs to contingency and
" tangible matter. In like manner, you attribute
" wives to your gods. Vishnu, who according to
" some represents the second person of the divine
" triad, according to others, is acknowledged as the
" supreme God, is said to have descended from his

" station, and become incarnate at different times,
" in the forms of a fish, a boar, a tortoise, and of
" man. When he was in the state of Rama, his
" wife was ravished from him. He was ignorant,
" and acquired some knowledge by becoming the
" disciple of one among the sages of India, until he
" was freed from his body; in the form of Krishna
" he was addicted to lust and deceit, of which you
" yourselves tell many stories. You state, that in
" this incarnation there was little of the wisdom of
" a supreme God, and much of the corporeal mat-
" ter of Krishna: thus you compel mankind, who,
" capable of justice, are superior to all sorts of ani-
" mals, to worship a boar or a tortoise! And you
" adore the form of the male organ as Mahadeva,
" whom many acknowledge to be God, and the
" female organ as his wife! You seem not to know
" that the irrational cannot be the creator of the
" rational; that the one, uncompounded, is incom-
" patible with division, and that plurality of the
" self-existent one is absurd. Finally, by the wor-
" ship of a mean object, no perfection can accrue to
" the noble." By these proofs and arguments he established his theses, and the Brahman remained confounded.

Afterwards the philosopher addressed the assembly: " Know for certain that the perfect prophet and
" learned apostle, the possessor of fame, *Akbar*, that

" is, the lord of wisdom, directs us to acknowledge
" that the self-existent being is the wisest teacher,
" and ordains the creatures with absolute power,
" so that the intelligent among them may be able to
" understand his precepts; and as reason renders
" it evident that the world has a Creator, all-mighty
" and all-wise, who has diffused upon the field of
" events among the servants, subject to vicissitudes,
" numerous and various benefits which are worthy
" of praise and thanksgiving; therefore, according
" to the lights of our reason, let us investigate the
" mysteries of his creation, and, according to our
" knowledge, pour out the praises of his benefits;
" and as, by the knowledge of the primordial omni-
" potence, we shall have found the direction to the
" right way, we shall, in proportion to our grati-
" tude, be led to the reward of yon exuberant bea-
" titude; if, by denying the unity and disowning
" the benefits of God we sink into guilt, shall we
" not be deserving of punishment? Such being the
" case, why should we pay obedience to any person
" who belongs to mankind as ourselves, and who is
" subject to anger and lust, and avarice and passion,
" and love of rank and power, even more than our-
" selves? If this mortal exhorts us to knowledge
" and gratitude, we may by the concurrence of our
" own reason obtain this advantage; but if he urges
" his precepts by what is opposite to reason, then

" his speech is a proof of deceit; for reason demon-
" strates that the world has a wise creator, and that
" he, being wise, prescribes to the creatures a wor-
" ship which to their reason does not evince itself
" as an evil; and whatever is proved bad, is not
" ordered by him. Now the law contains particu-
" lars which reason accounts as false or bad: such
" are conversations with God; the descent of in-
" corporeal heavenly beings in human forms or in
" the shape of a tortoise; the reascension to heaven
" in an elemental body; the pilgrimage to particu-
" lar edifices for performance of worship; the cir-
" cuit (round the Kába), the entrance in it, the
" fatigue, the throwing of stones;[1] the acquitting
" one's self of the pilgrimage to Mecca; the kissing
" of the black stone. If it be said that, without a
" visible medium, it is impossible to worship the
" all-mighty Creator, and that a place for the sake
" of connexion is to be fixed, it may be answered,
" that one who offers praises and thanks to God, has
" no need of a medium and of a place; and if a fixed

[1] The principal ceremonies performed by the pilgrims of Mecca have been touched upon in vol. II. p. 409, note 3; the throwing of stones takes place in the valley of Mina, where the devotees throw seven stones at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who, meeting the devil in that place, and being disturbed by him in his devotions and tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing stones at him; though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place, and by the same means.—(Sale's *Koran*, Prel. Disc., p. 160.)

" place were to be admitted, the forms of the stars " above would be preferable. If it be objected, that " this cannot be free from the detestable suspicion " of paganism, whilst, certainly, a place among " others having been fixed, which place, by distinc- " tion from them all, presents itself to them as " particular, a predilection for it appeared proper. " In like manner, after a computation of dimensions, " geometricians and mathematicians determine a " place which, with respect to the objects and " points of a space, bears the same relation as the " centre to a circle; then, without doubt, every " portion of the circumference will have its particu- " lar relative situation with respect to the point of " the centre; certainly, in consequence of this ar- " rangement, all places so determined become refer- " able to this particular place, and among the other " places, shall be worthy of predilection." *To this may be answered:* " This opinion agrees not with " the ideas of many distinguished persons; for a " great number confers upon the site of another " place the attribute of being the middle, and distin- " guish it as such; which is evident from the books " of the institutes of Brahma and of others, and by " the necessity of pronouncing benedictions there. " This also cannot be free from the suspicion of " paganism: because one may suppose that God, " the All-Just, is represented in the house, or is a

" body, on which account people call it ' the house
" ' of God." If it be so, or if the Kâbah be situ-
" ated in the midst of a country, other prophets may
" have chosen another place, such as the holy house
" (of Jerusalem), and the like; but this is but by
" error; thus it happened—that, at first, the lord
" Muhammed did not offer his prayers at the Kâbah.
" Since therefore the detestable suspicion of pagan-
" ism rests upon all the worship of stone, earth, and
" bodies, then water, fire, and the planets, are objects
" more proper to be honored; and if a centre be
" desired, let it be the sun in the midst of the seven
" heavens. In like manner objectionable is the
" sacrifice of animals, and the interdiction of what
" may be proper for the food of men, and the admit-
" ting thereof by one prophet to be lawful what is
" forbidden by another. Thus, if it be not right to
" eat pork, why was it permitted by Jesus? if it
" was interdicted on account of pollution in conse-
" quence of the animal's feeding upon unclean and
" nasty things, so the cock is objectionable for the
" same reasons. Similar to these are most other
" commands, and contrary to the precepts of reason.
" But the greatest injury comprehended in a pro-
" phetic mission is the obligation to submit to one
" like ourselves of the human species, who is sub-
" ject to the incidental distempers and imperfec-
" tions of mankind; and who nevertheless controls

" others with severity, in eating, drinking, and in
" all their other possessions, and drives them about
" like brutes, in every direction which he pleases;
" who declares every follower's wife he desires, legal
" for himself and forbidden to the husband; who
" takes to himself nine wives, [1] whilst he allows no
" more than four to his followers; and even of these
" wives he takes whichever he pleases for himself; [2]
" and who grants impunity for shedding blood to
" whomsoever he chooses. On account of what ex-
" cellency, on account of what science, is it necessary
" to follow that man's command; and what proof is
" there to establish the legitimacy of his pretensions?
" If he be a prophet by his simple word, his word,
" because it is only a word, has no claim of superi-
" ority over the words of others. Nor is it pos-
" sible to know which of the sayings be correctly
" his own, on account of the multiplicity of contra-
" dictions in the professions of faith. If he be a

[1] Herbelot says that, according to the Muhammedans, their prophet had twenty-one wives, six of whom he repudiated, and five died before him; therefore ten remained.

[2] Chapter XXXIII. v. 47. has the following passage: " O prophet, we " have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou hast given their dower, " and also the slaves which thy right hand possesseth, of the booty which " God hath granted thee, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy " father's side, who have fled with thee from Mecca, and any other be- " lieving woman, if she give herself unto the prophet, in case the pro- " phet desireth to take her to wife. This is a peculiar privilege granted " unto thee above the rest of the true believers."

" prophet on the strength of miracles, then the " deference to it is very dependent; because a mira- " cle is not firmly established, and rests only upon " tradition or a demon's romances: as the house of " tradition, from old age, falls in ruins, it deserves " no confidence. Besides, by the regulation of di- " vine providence, occult sciences are numerous; " and the properties of bodies without end or num- " ber. Why should it not happen that such a phe- " nomenon, which thou thinkest to be a miracle, be " nothing else but one of the properties of several " bodies, or a strange effect of the occult art? As " with thee, the dividing of the moon, of which " thou hast heard, is a miracle, why shouldst thou " not admit, as proved, the moon of Káshgar?[1] " And if thou namest Moses, 'the speaker of God,' " why shouldst thou not so much the more give this " title to Sámerí,[2] who caused a calf to speak?

" But if it be said that every intellect has not the " power of comprehending the sublime precepts,

[1] This reminds of Hakem, the moon-maker.—(See p. 3, note 1.)

[2] The name of a magician said to have been contemporary with Moses. He is mentioned in the Koran, chap. XX. v. 87. Sale observes (vol. II. pp. 145. 146. N. 9.) that he was not, as the Muhammedans believe, one of the Samaritans, who were not then formed into a people, nor bore that name till many ages after. Selden is of opinion, that this person was no other than Aaron himself, called *al Sameri*, from the Hebrew word *shamar*, " to keep;" because he was the keeper, or guardian, of the children of Israel during the absence of his brother, Moses, on the mount.

" but that the bounty of the all-mighty God created
" degrees of reason and a particular order of spirits,
" so that he blessed a few of the number with supe-
" rior sagacity; and that the merciful light of lights,
" by diffusion and guidance, exalted the prophets
" even above these intellects. If it be so, then a
" prophet is of little service to men; for he gives
" instruction which they do not understand, or
" which their reason does not approve. Then the
" prophet will propagate his doctrine by the sword;
" he says to the inferiors: ' My words are above
" ' your understanding, and your study will not
" ' comprehend them.' To the intelligent he says:
" ' My faith is above the mode of reason.' Thus,
" his religion suits neither the ignorant nor the
" wise. Another evil *attending submission to an*
" *incomprehensible doctrine* is that, whatever the intel-
" lect possesses and offers by its ingenuity, turns
" to no instruction and advantage of mankind, whilst
" the prophet himself has said:

" ' God imposes upon a man no more than he can bear.'

" And whatever the understanding does not com-
" prise within the extent of reason, the truth of this
" remains hidden; and to assent thereto is silliness;
" because the doctrine of other wise men may be of
" a higher value than the tradition or the book of
" that prophet. Besides, if the maxim were incul-

" cated that prophets must be right, any body who " chose could set up the pretension of being one; " as silly men will always be found to follow him, " saying: ' His reason is superior to ours, which is " not equal to such things.' Hence have arisen " among the Muselmans and other nations so many " creeds and doctrines, as well as practices without " number.

" Another defect is that, when the religion of one " prophet has been adopted, and when his rule has " been followed in the knowledge and worship of " God, after a certain time another prophet arises, " who prescribes another religion to the people. " Hence they become perplexed, and know not " whether the former prophet was a liar, or whe- " ther they ought to conclude that in each period " mankind is to alter the law according to circum- " stances. But the knowledge of truth admits no " contradiction; yet there exists a great number of " contradictions in the four sacred books:[1] hence " it appears that, in the first times, the true God has " not made himself known, and that the first creed " with respect to him had been wrong; thus, in " the second book, something else is said, and in " like manner in the third and in the fourth.

" In the sequel it became evident to wise men, " that emancipation is to be obtained only by the

[1] The Pentateuch, the Psalter, the Gospel, and the Koran.

" knowledge of truth conformably with the precepts
" of the perfect prophet, the perfect lord of fame,
" *Akbar*, ' the Wise ;' the practices enjoined by him
" are : renouncing and abandoning the world;
" refraining from lust, sensuality, entertainment,
" slaughter of what possesses life ; and from appro-
" priating to one's self the riches of other men ;
" abstaining from women, deceit, false accusation,
" oppression, intimidation, foolishness, and giving
" (to others) opprobrious titles. The endeavors for
" the recompense of the other world, and the forms
" of the true religion may be comprised in ten vir-
" tues, namely : 1. liberality and beneficence ; 2. for-
" bearance from bad actions and repulsion of anger
" with mildness; 3. abstinence from worldly de-
" sires ; 4. care of freedom from the bonds of the
" worldly existence and violence, as well as accu-
" mulating precious stores for the future real and
" perpetual world ; 5. piety, wisdom, and devo-
" tion, with frequent meditations on the conse-
" quences of actions ; 6. strength of dexterous pru-
" dence in the desire of sublime actions ; 7. soft
" voice, gentle words, and pleasing speeches for
" every body ; 8. good society with brothers, so that
" their will may have the precedence to our own ;
" 9. a perfect alienation from the creatures, and a
" perfect attachment to the supreme Being ; 10.
" purification of the soul by the yearning after God

" the all-just, and the union with the merciful Lord,
" in such a manner that, as long as the soul dwells
" in the body, it may think itself one with him and
" long to join him, until the hour of separation
" from the body arrives. The best men are those
" who content themselves with the least food, and
" who sequestrate themselves from this perishable
" world, and abstain from the enjoyments of eating,
" drinking, dress, and marriage. The vilest of the
" people are those who think it right to indulge the
" desire of generation, the passion for wine, and ban-
" quetting with eagerness, as if it were something
" divine. As the mode which the perfect prophet
" and apostle, Akbar the Wise, has prescribed to his
" followers, is difficult, certainly the demons excite
" the spirit of brutish passion against his regula-
" tions; so that there are prophets who, captivated
" with lust, anger, pleasures of eating and drinking,
" costly garments, beautiful women, and engaged in
" oppression towards the children of one race, whom
" they call infidels, consider these practices not only
" as legal, but even as laudable, and tend towards
" them. So it happens that many learned men and
" their followers, who, for the sake of the world
" have chosen to obey these prophets, but in their
" heart deny them, and are aware of the falsehood
" of this sect, wait for an opportunity, with prudent
" regard to circumstances and a favorable hour, to

"adopt the regulations *of Akbar.*"—Nobody in the assembly had an answer to give to the learned philosopher, who, after the effort which he had made, left the hall.[1]

The lord vicar of God said to his disciples, that, it is an indispensable duty to worship God, the all-just, and that it is necessary to praise those who are near him; among mankind, said he, none is higher in rank than the planets, to the station of which no man can attain. None except God, the all-mighty, is the wish of the godly man, that is, whatever the godly undertakes, the object of his wish in it is God; for instance, he takes some food, that he may be able to perform the service of God; performs that service, that he may not be slack and deficient in his duties to God; desires a wife, that he may give existence to a virtuous son, worshipper of God; pays veneration to the lights of the stars, because they are near God the all-just; and abandons himself to sleep, that his soul may ascend to the upper world. Finally, the godly man is at all times in the

[1] In the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. II. pp. 242-270, is to be found: "A Notice respecting the religion introduced "by the Emperor Akbar, by Captain Vans Kennedy, written in 1818," with an elegant, but in several places abridged, translation of the just-given disputes, between the doctors of the different religions, in form of a dialogue, accompanied with valuable remarks respecting the author of the Dabistán, of which I availed myself in several quotations in the Preliminary Discourse, as well as in this place.

service and obedience of the all-just, and at no moment is he negligent in pious practices. Moreover, he thinks himself bound to abstain from hurting living beings, and he respects all the creatures of God. He does not cut grass and green trees without necessity, nor pollute the ground wantonly, except on a particular place; he throws neither water nor fire upon vile spots; he blesses the stars; further in this disposition he accustoms himself to abstinence in speaking, eating, and sleeping; he constrains himself to many occupations: one of them is to close with his fingers the exterior organs; he dwells with veneration upon the image of the lord of fires (the sun), until he had carried this exercise so far that, by merely covering his eyes, the great object is present to him; then, whichever of the illustrious and mighty personages of Hind, or Iran, or Greece, or any other place, he wishes to see, that person presents himself to his view, and he sees lights, explores many ways, and makes himself master of the temporary and the eternal. The lord vicar of the all-just is called *Ilahi*, "divine," by his followers, because in all their actions the object of their wishes is God; and the lord has received the divine mission to establish the worship of the stars, which are to be the Kiblah of the pious. In the ancient books of the Hindus and Parsis, without number, the excellence of the constellations is affirmed.

Náin Javet gave the information that, in the reign of the lord (Akbar) the learned assembled, and Makhdúm ul mulk gave the decision, that in this age it is not required to make the pilgrimage to Mecca; but that whoever makes it deserves punishment; for this reason; namely, because the road to Mecca by land passes through the middle of Irak, and by sea through Guzerat and the ports of the Farangis; by land it is unavoidable to hear unseemly speeches from the Kazel báshan; and on the voyage by sea to suffer much impropriety in the transactions and communications with the Farangis; because they have represented upon their papers[1] the image of Jesus and the picture of Mary, which bear a resemblance to idolatry.

His majesty Akbar said one day that he heard from Shaikh Abdul Nabí, that one of the chief lawyers of the Sonnites declared the taking of nine wives to be legal, whilst other learned men denied it, and quoted the passage of the Koran:

"Take in marriage such women as please you, two, or three, or "four."[2]

[1] This refers principally to papers, such as passports, of the Portuguese, who, as I have been informed by Viscount Santarem, used to represent St. Catherine upon them, this saint being the patroness of Goa and of one of the principal confraternities; and the above-mentioned images are besides often used as ornaments of books and printed papers.

[2] Others translate: "two, and three, and four," consequently nine wives; as the conjunction *va*, in Arabic, may mean *or* as well as *and*.—(See *Transact. of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, vol. II. p. 268.)

As even eighteen wives were said to be legal, then the learned gave the decision that it may be admissible, by the mode of *matâh*, "a temporary agree-"ment,"[1] by means of which the obtainment of women is facilitated for a certain price; and this is permitted pursuant to the creed of the Imám Málik. The sect of the Shíahs assert, that a son begotten in consequence of *matâh*, is preferable to all others. Nakib Khan followed the footsteps of the Imám Málik, who at last declared the matâh legal by a public patent. The sect of the Shíáhs quote, in support of this, the following passage of the Koran:

[1] The passage of the Koran favorable to temporary marriage is in chap. IV. v. 28: "For the advantage which you receive from them, give "them their reward (assign them their dower), according to what is "ordained: but it shall not be criminal to make any other agreement "among yourselves, after the ordinance shall be complied with." In this passage the word *matâh* occurs. This sort of marriage is also admitted in the *Hédaya fil foru'*, "the Guide in the Branches of the Law" (translated into English by Charles Hamilton," 1791).

Nevertheless it was a subject of great contest among the Muhammedan doctors whether such a connection be legitimate or not. The Imâm Abu Hanifah and others declared it abrogated, according to the universal concurrence of the prophet's companions, on the authority of Ebn Abbas Abdallah, who died Hej. 68 (A. D. 687). This Imâm adduced the information received from Alí, who, on the day of the combat of Chaibar (A. D. 630), heard the prophet declare that such marriages are forbidden. Moreover, a strong opposer to their legitimacy was *Yahia*, the son of Aktam, son of Muhammed, son of Katan, a celebrated judge, who died in the year of the *Hejira* 242 (A. D. 856). Living during the reign of Mamun, he succeeded in persuading the Khalif to prohibit by a decree temporary marriage, which he had before permitted.—(See *Abulfeda*, vol. II. pp. 195–199).

" Your women are a field for you: approach your field as you " may like."

By which they pretend to show that any mode of coition is permitted.[1] Náin Javet said that, when the era of the Muselmans was fixed, the people had a bad opinion of the companions of the prophet, and wise men called all the laws "prisons," and declared the centre of faith rests upon reason. Nobody disputed with them. Then arrived learned Farangis, and argued in their speeches. *Shaikh* Bhavan, so was called a learned Brahman from the country of Dekan, having conceived hatred towards his relations, became a Muselman, and obtained this name: he had the fourth Véda in his possession, and interpreted some precepts of this book, which contains many beauties, and a sentence like that of the Koran: "There is but one God;" and it was also stated therein, that whoever does not make this confession will not obtain salvation. In another place it was said that to eat cow's flesh was, under certain conditions, allowable; and elsewhere it was ordained to bury, and not to burn, a corpse. Thus, the beforesaid Shaikh was triumphant over the Brahmans. But Náin Javet related that he has requested him to interpret this passage; when he had translated it, its meaning was completely contrary and opposed to

[1] قبل و دبُر, antè vel retrorsum.

the sentence: "There is but one God," and the restriction to eat cow's flesh also was contrary to the custom of the Muselmans; and concerning the burying of the dead he gave a different account from that which is lawful by the faith of the Muselmans. His Majesty (Akbar), with all those present, laughed at the Brahman, and said: "Look at these Muselmans and Hindus, who among many conflicting "arguments did not think to ask what was the "meaning of the passages in question, and have "praised me exceedingly.

Mír Sáíd Sherif Amely came to the place of Daibál púr, and waited on his Majesty (Akbar), who was then taking part in a public dispute between a number of young men with some theologians, about Mahmúd, and he reduced them to silence. The Emperor conferred also many favors upon the said Mir, and the controversy in religion went so far that even doctors in law were accused of infidelity; learned men and Sufies declared in the celestial court (Akbar's), that wise and capable men existed in all religions: where then is the superiority and preponderance? More than one thousand years have not elapsed since this faith was established.

In like manner, a number of children were put in a place called *Gangmahel*, where every thing necessary was furnished to them; but none could articulate a letter; having remained there to their four-

teenth year, they were found to be dumb; which made it evident, that letters and language are not natural to man, that is, cannot be used unless they have been acquired by instruction, and it is then only that the use of conversation becomes possible. From this the conclusion was drawn, that the world is very ancient, and language of a long date, whence the Brahmans derive arguments founded upon reason and testimony for the truth of their religion and the futility of others.

The crown of the pious Shaikh Táj-ed-din, the son of Shaikh Zakríá Jondehení Dahluví, explained the exterior rites of the mystic doctrine; the system of the unity of the real being; and the precepts of the religion of Pharâoh, which is the *Fes'us ul hikem*, the "bezels of philosophers,"[1] and the superiority of hope over fear. His Majesty Akbar liked the mode in which the Kings of Ajem performed worship; the Sufis, acknowledging holy personages as representing the Khalífs of the age, used to prostrate themselves before them, touching the ground with their foreheads; this was intended to mark the secret meaning that the angels had once adored Adam. The truth is, that the wise are the terrestrial angels, who worship an holy personage as a *Khalífah*, "vicar," of God; and for having attained to this dig-

[1] This is a work of Mohi eddin Ibn Arabi, who died in the year of the Hejira 638 (A. D. 1240), of whom hereafter.

nity, they venerate him under a similar character, and call him also their *Kabâh* and *Kiblah*: because the heart of a just man is the heart of the all-just God, and it is to its door that they turn in the worship of God; in that sense Yâkúb and his sons prostrated themselves before Yúsef.

Shaikh Yâkúb, a grammarian of Kashmir, who was a spiritual guide of the age, related, as from *Aín alkasa Hamdáni*, that Muhammed is the manifest name of a guide, and Iblis the manifest name of a seducer. Mulla Muhammed Yzedí blamed the three khalifs, and reviled the companions of the prophet and their followers; he seduced people to the faith of Shíâhs, and, having brought forth chapters of the Gospel, he drew from them a proof of the third person of the Trinity as being true, and confirmed the religion of the Nasaránains.

As his Majesty (Akbar) showed himself a friend of all men, he gave orders to the Nawab, the wise *Shaikh Abu 'l Faz'il*,[1] who frequently witnessed the

[1] Abu 'l Fazil, the wise minister of Akbar, is generally known by his work entitled *Ayi'n Akbari*, "the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar," translated from the original Persian, by Francis Gladwin, in two volumes. This work contains the best statistical account hitherto given respecting India of those times. Abú 'l Fazil was the first Muhammedan who bestowed attention upon the history and religion of the Hindus, and drew his information regarding them from their own books. It was by him, or under his eyes, that the Mahabharat was translated from Sanskrit into Persian. The tolerance and liberality of the Emperor Akbar towards all religions, and his attempt to establish a new creed, are generally ascribed

prodigious deeds of the emperor, to interpret *several foreign works,* and instead of the common sentence, "*Bismilla,*" etc., he adopted another, viz.:

> "Thy name is a fortress, and thou art its foundation,
> "Thou art holy, and there is no God but God."

The Rájah Birber conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables; and gives splendor and life; likewise, fire and water, and stones and trees, all are manifestations of God; he gave the mark on the forehead and the zunar. The learned brought it nearly to certainty that the sun, the great, the exalted luminary, is the benefactor of the world, and the protector of monarchs. The Yezdánian said, that the sun is the world of spirits, the self-existent being; and the sun of the world of bodies is a luminary (a soul)[1] which is the Khalifah, "the vicar," of God. A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is

to the influence of his enlightened minister, who paid it with his life: for Jehangir, Akbar's fanatic son, hired assassins who murdered the excellent man, near Orcha, in the district of Narwar, on his return from the Dekan, during the life of Akbar, who, except his utmost indignation, had no punishment to inflict upon the heir-apparent of his empire.

[1] آفتاب, *aftab,* signifies sun and soul.

possible about the existence, the splendor, and the beneficence of the sun. His Majesty, Akbar, as he was ordered by God, used to read prayers, containing the praise of the sun, in the Persian, Hindi, Turkish, and Arabic languages, among which all was one prayer which is proper to the Hindus, and which they sing at midnight and at sun-rise. Besides, the emperor forbade his subjects to kill cows and to eat their flesh; because medical men have declared that cow's flesh causes itch, dry scab, leprosy, elephantiasis, and the like diseases, and is difficult to digest. The Hindus say also that, as many advantages are derived from the cow, it is not right to kill it. The Yezdánian maintained that it is tyranny to kill harmless animals, and a tyrant is an enemy of God, the Almighty. But the learned of the time showed in the book *Serat ul mustakim*, "the "right road," composed by the Imám *Majeddin Muhammed*, son of *Yàkub*, son of *Muhammed, Firózábádi*,[1] that what is known

"The most excellent meat of both worlds is flesh."

This has not been firmly established, and in the subject of the excellence of *hersiah*, a kind of pottage,

[1] Majeddin Abu Thaher Muhammed ben Yakub is the compiler of the celebrated Arabic Dictionary, called *Al kamus*, already quoted, which from a work of sixty-five volumes was reduced to two. He is the author of several works besides the above-mentioned. He died in the year of the Hejira 817 (A. D. 1414).

nothing appeared, nor on the subject of the virtues of the white cock;[1] and on the subject of bastards it is known:

"The illegitimate son has no access to paradise."

This was not firmly established, and is futile. His Majesty, the khalífah of the all-just, proclaimed himself the joyous tidings, that cows ought not to be killed.

In like manner, the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nóusarí, situated in the district of Gujerát, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu 'l Faz'il, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti set* was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtilties of

[1] I am not acquainted with the subjects above alluded to, nor does the text appear connected.

Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Káivan, who was a chief of the Yezdánián and Abádánián, and invited him to India; Azer-Káivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his own composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements; as well as a word of advice to the King; all this contained in fourteen sections: every first line of each was in Persian *pure derí;* when read invertedly, it was Arabic; when turned about, Turkish; and when this was read in reversed order, it became Hindí. The Nawab, the wise Shaikh Abu 'l Fazil placed a full confidence in Azer Káivan; he called the inhabitants of Ajem and Arabia "infestors "of roads," and the people of Islám "accursed." The wise Shaikh Abu 'l Fazil said in Fatah púr to Abd ul Káder Bedávaní: "I have to complain of the "authors of books for two reasons: the first is, "that they have not explicitly enough written the "account of ancient prophets, similar to that of "their own prophet; the second is, that nothing "remained of the industrious men whose name "is not mentioned in the *Tazkeret-ul-awlia,* 'the "'Story of the Saints,'[1] and the *Nafhát alúns,*[2]

[1] Composed by Ferid eddin Attlar.

[2] This is a work of the celebrated *Abd-al rahmen Ja'mi;* its whole title is: كتاب نفحات الانس من حضرات القدس *Kitab-u-nafha't-i 'l uns-i, min hazarat-i 'l Kades,* translated by Silvestre de

" ' the fragrant Gales of Mankind,' and the like;
" and the family of the prophet, what was their
" guilt that their names were not admitted into
" them?" Abd ul Káder gave no satisfactory answer. Ghází Khán Baddakshi, who had not his equal in logical science, treated explicitly and laboriously in sections of the just Imám (Alí), and established by investigation his superior merit in other treatises; and other learned men exercised their sagacity upon this subject.

In the month Rajeb of the year of the Hejira 987 (A. D. 1579), the Emperor Akbar was ordered (by Heaven) to fix the sentence: "There is but one God,
" and Akbar is his Khalifah," to be used. If the people really wished it, they might adopt this faith; and his Majesty declared, that this religion ought to be established by choice, and not by violence. In this manner, a number of men, who were more pious or wise than those of their times, chose this creed according to their conscience. The command came from God, that the attachment to the cause of the Lord God and to one's master has four degrees,

" Sacy, " *les Haleines de la familiarité, provenant des personnages*
" *eminens en sainteté*," " the breathings of familiarity proceeding from
" personages eminent in sanctity." Baron von Hammer rendered the title by: " *Die Hauche der Menshheit*," " the Breathings of Mankind;" *Nefha't* being interpreted in the Dictionary, by " a breath of wind, a
" fragrant gate, perfume, (metaphorically for) good fame," I prefered the version given in the text.

which are: sacrifice of property, life, reputation, and religion. The command of the *Ilahi*, "divine," faith means that, in case of an indispensable conflict, if one does not sacrifice all he possesses, he must renounce these four degrees. Further, it is the divine command, that one may relinquish something of the four degrees, but never make an abandonment of his God.

The Emperor further said, that one thousand years have elapsed since the beginning of Muhammed's mission, and that this was the extent of the duration of this religion, now arrived at its term.

Another of his ordinances abolished absolutely the obligation of bathing after pollution *by spermatic emission*. The sages said that the most exquisite and best part of a man is *mani*, "sperm," and that the seed of creation is pure. What sense is there that, after the common natural secretions bathing be not required, whilst the release of a quantity of delicate matter is subject to an entire ablution? Yet it is suitable to bathe before indulging sexual propensity.

It is equally absurd to prepare food for the spirit of a corpse, which then belongs to minerals: what sense is there in it? Yet the birth-day of a person is justly made a great festival, and called "the ban-
"quet of life." Moreover, when one's soul has attained the full knowledge of the primitive cause, and has left its mortal garment, this day also is devoted to rejoicing, and named "the day of union."

On account of the difference between the era of the Hindus and that of the Hejira used by the Arabs, the Emperor introduced a new one, beginning from the first year of the reign of Hamáyún, which is 963 of the Hejira (A. D. 1555-6); the names of the months were those used by the Kings of Ajem; and fourteen festivals in the year instituted, coinciding with those of Zardusht, were named "the years and days of *Ilahí*." This arrangement was established by *Hakím Sháh Fattah ulla Shírázi*. On account of hearing so many disputes of the learned in the midst of the multitude, the custom of reading the comments on the Koran and the science of religion and law, were laid aside, and in their place astronomy, physic, arithmetic, mysticism, poetry, and chronology became current. The people of Ajem used to repeat frequently these verses:

"By living upon milk of camels and upon lizards,
"The Arabians raised their fortune;
"So that they now covet Ajem:
"Fie upon thee, O revolving world, fie!"

Khaja abd ul látíf,[1] who was one of the distinguished personages of Maverah ul naher, gifted with the talent of subtile distinctions, raised doubts upon the truth of the saying:

[1] Abdul latif Khan, son of Abdalla, prince of the Usbecks, died in the year of the Hejira 948 (A. D. 1541).

" The neck of the lord Muhammed is similar to the neck of an idol.'

If that prevailed, then idolatry would be laudable. In like manner, the tradition about the she-camel straying far off,[1] which is published in the *Sîr*, " acts and deeds;" then the assault upon the caravan of the Koraish, in the beginning of the Hejira;[2] also demanding nine wives,[3] and the interdiction of women from husbands according to the pleasure of

[1] This appears an allusion to the following occurrence: *Ayesha'*, Muhammed's favorite wife, accompanied the prophet on an expedition against the tribe of the Mostalek, in the sixth year of the Hejira (A. D. 627). During the night-march, according to her own statement, she alighted from her camel, in order to search for a valuable necklace which she had dropped. On account of her light weight, her absence was not perceived by the drivers, who went on and left her alone on the road. There, having laid down and fallen asleep, she was the next morning found by Safwan Ebn al Moattel, and brought, at noon, on his own camel to Muhammed's next resting-place. This occurrence raised suspicions respecting Ayesha's virtue; Muhammed found necessary to inveigh against slander in the Koran (chap. XXIV), and to punish the free-speakers as slanderers: but he could not silence the severe reflections of some respectable men, among whom was Ali. — (*Hammer's Gemäldesaal, Ier Band. Sexte*, 144-145.

[2] Muhammed made, in the beginning of the Hejira, several unsuccessful attempts to intercept the caravans of the Koreish, his enemies; at last, in the second year of the Hejira (A. D. 623), took place the battle of *Bedr*, in the valley of the same name, near the sea, between Mecca and Medina. Muhammed, with 319 combattants, had marched to take a caravan of the Koreish, which, richly laden, returned from Syria; apprised of it, the inhabitants of Mecca sent 950 men to succour the caravan: this force was attacked and routed by Muhammed's inferior number, *assisted by angels*, and a rich booty fell into his hands.

[3] See vol. III. p. 79

the prophet, and this taking place;[1] the companions giving up their body; which is to be known by reading the book *Sír*; further, the appointment of the three first khalifs;[2] the affair of Fadek;[3] the war of Safín;[4] the victory of the Shiâhs; and the defeat of the Sonnites: *all these topics are subject to reflection.*

At a convivial meeting on the new-year's festival, a Kási and a Mufti were inclined to drink cups of wine. Shaik Abu 'l Fazil, as a counterpart to the explanation of the verse of the Koran, called "the "throne,"[5] composed a sermon in two parts. He also translated the Mahábharat, which is the history of the wars of the ancient Hindu chiefs. Some learned men denied absolutely the affair of Muham-

[1] See vol. III. p. 59.

[2] See vol. I. pp. 99-100.

[3] See vol. III. p. 51.

[4] See vol. III. pp. 59-60. note 2.

[5] This is the 256th verse of chapter II. It is justly admired by the Muhammedans, who recite it in their prayer, and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone. Here it follows, as translated by Sale, who remarks that his translation must not be supposed to equal the dignity of the original (vol. I. p. 47): "God! "there is no God but he; the living, the self-subsisting; neither slumber "nor sleep seizeth him; to him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and "on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his "good pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to "come to them, and they shall not comprehend any thing of his know-"ledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven "and earth, and the preservation of both is no burthen unto him. He "is the High, the Mighty."

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med's marriage night with *Sidíkáh*,[1] and blamed the deed of David concerning Uriah's wife.

When the Sultán Khajah, who was one of the Ilahian, was about to leave this world, he said to the emperor: "Let not your Majesty bury me as if I had "been an adorer of Divs." On that account he was placed in a tomb with lamps, like a person of distinction, and a lattice was left towards the great majestic luminary, the splendor of which purifies from of all sins. Further, orders were issued that, in imitation of the kings of Ajem, low people may be prevented from reading the books of the wise, and from the pursuit of sciences. By other ordinances, the affairs of the Hindus were to be decided by learned Brahmans, and those of Muselmans by their own Kás'is. Likewise the followers of other religions and persuasions received orders, that the head of a corpse may be laid in a tomb towards the east,

[1] *Sidíka'h*, "the true," is a surname given by the Muhammedans to the blessed Virgin, and to *Ayisha'*, daughter of Abu-bekr, and wife of Muhammed. At nine years of age, her mother took her down from a swing suspended between two palm-trees, where she childishly slept, and placed her upon the lap of the prophet, a bridegroom of fifty-two years. She was but eighteen when he died. She then became the head of a party hostile to Alí. She never forgot the austere judgment which he had passed upon the occurrence related in the preceding note (p. 100 note 1); not satisfied with having discarded him more than twenty-three years from the khalifat, she led in person a strong army against him, to wrest it from his hands; but was taken in battle, generously treated, and sent to Medina, where she died in the year of the Hejira 58 (A. D. 677), having attained the prophet's age of sixty-three years.

and its feet towards the west; and that persons, even in their sleep, may dispose themselves in that direction. It was further ordained, that the Ilahian may not apply to any other sciences of the Arabs but to astronomy, arithmetic, physic, and philosophy, and not spend their life-time in the pursuit of what is not reasonable. The interdiction of slaying cows was confirmed. It was also regulated, that a Hindu woman is not to be prevented from burning with her dead husband, but that the sacrifice ought to take place without violence used towards, or abhorrence shewn by, the widow. Another regulation was that, whoever eats with one whose profession is the slaughter of animals, should have his hand cut off; but only a finger, if he belong to the people of his house.

Again, a woman who is going about in narrow streets or in market-places, without having at that time her face veiled, ought not to be approached by her husband; and a woman of improper conduct, who quarrels with her husband, ought to be sent to the place of prostitutes, whose business it is to offer themselves for sale. In addition to this, in times of distressing famine, a father and a mother may happen to sell their children under age; when they find themselves in better circumstances, they must be allowed, by giving money, to rescue their offspring from the bonds of servitude. Moreover, a Hindu

who, in his infancy, without his will, has been made a Muselman, if later he chooses to return to the faith of his fathers, is at liberty to do so, and is not to be prevented from it; also every person is permitted to profess whatever religion he chooses, and to pass, whenever he likes, from one religion to another. But if a Hindu woman, having fallen in love with a Muselman, wishes to adopt his religion, she can be taken by force and delivered up to her family. And likewise a Muselman woman, if she has fallen in love with an Hindu, and wishes to adopt his faith, is prevented from it, and not admitted in his caste. Finally, the erection of a temple of idols, of a church, of a fire-temple, and a sepulchral vault, ought not to be impeded, nor the building of a mosque for the Muselmans.

Sader Jehan adopted the Ilahi religion. Acbar called the harmless animals the beasts of peace, and showed abhorrence to their slaughter. He mixed the best and purest part of every religion for the formation of his own faith. Mulla Tersún Badakhshi, who was a Muselman of the Hanifa creed, informed me, in the Hejira 1058 (A. D. 1648-9), that one day he went on a pilgrimage to visit the sepulchre of Akbar, the inhabitant of heaven; there, one of his friends, having hurt his foot in climbing up the holy tomb, set about reviling the khalifah of God. The companions said: "If the blessed Em-

" peror, now in heaven, have any power, that man " will certainly come to some misfortune." Soon after, indeed, he broke a toe of his foot by a stone which had fallen down from a crevice of the wall. In one of Akbar's works we find, that it is indispensable to worship God, the all-just, and necessary to praise the beings near him; that none of mankind rise to the rank of stars, as men are not equal to the dignity of celestial luminaries. The Emperor inculcated on his followers, that a godly man ought to know no other object of his wishes but God, the Almighty; that is, whatever business the godly undertakes, his wish in that business ought to tend towards God.

SECTION III.—UPON THE VIRTUES OF THE STARS, ACCORDING TO REASON, MANIFESTATION, REVELATION, AND TRADITION.

Aghátho démón,[1] or *Shís*, and *Hermes al hermes*, or

[1] According to Sheristáni, there is a sect called *Hernánites*, or *Herranites*, disciples of a certain *Hernán*, a branch of the Sabeans, of whom hereafter; these sectaries designate, as authors of their scientific treatises, four prophets, among whom are Agatho démon and Hermes.

Agatho démon, that is to say, " the good genius," was an Egyptian

Idris,[1] and the philosophers said, that the Almighty Author created the celestial bodies and the stars in such a manner that, from their movements, effects may be manifested in the nether world, that is to say, the events below are subject to their motions, and every constellation, and every degree of altitude has its particular nature; which being known by experience, and information having been collected about the qualities of the degrees, the celestial signs, and their influences, it is in this manner evident that they are near the all-just; and that the house of prayer, the Kâbah of truth, and the Kiblah of conviction is heaven. The wise men believe, that every master of fame worshipped one of the stars: thus Moses worshipped Saturn, as Saturday

god. According to general belief, this denomination is the approximative translation of *Knef*, or "the good principle," and in that acceptation it was applied to other deities, as for instance, to the Nile, and typified as the emblem of wisdom, prudence, life, health, youth, eternity, and infinitude, in the *inoffensive serpent;* now and then this form is combined with that of other animals According to some authors, Agatho demon was the Egyptian *Chetnuph;* and to him are attributed a number of works, a list of which is given by Fabricius in his "Bibliotheca "græca."

[1] The first Hermes of the Orientals lived one thousand years after Adam, in the beginning of their second solar millenium, and was no other but Idris, or Enoch; the second in the third solar millenium, was the *Trismegist* of the Greeks. According to Abu 'l farage, the second was the third; and between these two intervened a Chaldean or Babylonian Hermes, who lived a few centuries after the deluge, and to whom the principal notions of astronomy are referred. A disciple of the first Hermes, or of Idris, was Esculapius, of whom hereafter.

is holy to the Jews, and Moses vanquished the magicians and enchanters who are subservient to Saturn; Jesus worshipped the sun, on which account Sunday was sanctified by him, and finally his soul united with the sun; Muhammed worshipped Venus, wherefore he fixed upon Friday as a sacred day: as he would not reveal this meaning to the common people, he kept it secret; but it is evident from the prophet's customs that he held Venus in great veneration; one of these was his passion for perfumes and the like.[1] We find in the histories of the Persians, that Ferhósh was a king in the time of Abád, and had poets without number about him; out of them all he chose seven; each of them, on one day of the week, recited his verses to the king. On Sunday, which was consecrated to the great luminary, the monarch used to go to the *Kermábah*, and on his return from thence, having approached the august image of the great fire, and there performed his worship, he betook himself to his palace. The chief of the speech-adoring bards, called Shedósh,[2] came then into the royal presence. As the King professed the religion of the Yezdánián, who never hurt an harmless animal, they brought, on this day

[1] Muhammed used to say: "I like of your world but women and perfumes, and God has placed the refreshment of my eyes in prayers." —(Baron Hammer.)

[2] This word, not in the Dictionary, means perhaps "assembly of the nobles."

sacred to the sun, *Sirdin*, that is " rice," and *Perdin*, called in Hindostan *pahati*, before the King, and peas in the shell, which were then stript of their integuments. The King asked Shedósh: " For whom " is this food?" The poet answered: " For the " friend who, for the sake of retirement, is naked " from head to foot." The monarch, being pleased with this answer, filled the poet's mouth with precious pearls of the purest water. The Queen, named Shuker, averting her heart from the King her husband, attached it passionately to the sweet composer of melodious speeches. When night came on, Shuker, believing that the King slept, went out by stealth. The King too followed her steps. When Shuker arrived at the house of Shedósh, many words occurred between them. Then the poet said to her: " A woman fears nobody; on that ac- " count she ought to be feared. Thou hast left Fer- " hosh, the King, and wilt devote thy affections to " one like me!" Upon these words, the woman returned home without hope, and Shedosh turned his face to the image of the sun. But his looks fell upon one of the maids who were adorers of the sun, and desired her to converse with him; the maid, indignant at such a proposal, having approached the image of the sun, said: " I am thy worshipper; " and this is not the time for associating with men: " this poet of the King addressed to me an improper

" speech." When Shidósh came to the image of the sun, he found himself afflicted with a malady, and returned ashamed. Afterwards he went to the King, who, having seen him the night before in company with Shuker, said: " Shidósh, if thou " speakest not the truth, thou shalt be put to " death: what didst thou mean by saying that a " woman fears nobody? Shidosh replied:

" A woman is a king; her strength is that of an ocean;
" It opens its passage, and has fear of nobody."

The King was pleased with this speech, and bestowed Shuker on him as a gift; whatever excuses Shidosh offered, the sovereign did not listen to them; wherefore the poet brought the king's wife to his house. But, from disease, his flesh began to diminish, and he was so far reduced as to be unable to leave his house. Thus it was, until the son of the king came to visit his father, and requested to see the royal poets. The King, having convoked six of them, ordered that Shidosh should recite his verses sitting behind a curtian. Shidosh, having heard this order, demanded at the very moment that a fire should be kindled, and in the midst an iron chain adjusted to suspend a seat above the flames. He resolved to himself from thence to address his praises to the majesty of the great fire, the sun; if he received them with favor, so much the better; if not, to throw himself into the fire, and so

to obtain his due. He then got upon the seat, and began to chaunt the verses which he had composed in honor of the sun: at this very time his leprosy disappeared. But, before he had ended his poem, his followers thought the great luminary would not grant his wish; and the poet, from fear of his life, would not throw himself into the fire; therefore, pulling the chair by means of the chain, they precipitated it into the flames. But after falling, he felt the fire had no effect upon him, and although dejected, remaining in his seat, he terminated his praise; then coming forth, he approached the King, and recited the verses which he had composed for the occasion; he subjoined: "O King, I have not been guilty of "any vile deed on this occasion; but on the same "day, at the time when the women approach the "image of the sun, I also went there, and the guards "did not know me. But the rebellious spirit had "his play with me, so that, supposing a virtuous "woman I beheld to be unmarried, I spoke im-"proper words to her; on that account I was pu-"nished; but at the same time I held Shuker as a "mother."

Hóshang, the King, in the work *Bahín ferah*, "the "highest dignity," which is written to inculcate the duties towards the sanctity of the stars, states great miracles of every luminary. We read likewise, in the Mahábharat, that the Rája Jedeshter

(Yudhishthira)[1] attained the fulfilment of his wishes by worshipping the sun. As the Mahábharat is all symbolic, we also find there that the sun, having appeared to him in the form of a man, announced to him: "I am pleased with thee; I will provide thee "with food during twelve years, then for the space "of thirteen years thou wilt obtain a wonderful "empire." And the sun gave him a kettle, saying: "The property of this kettle is, that every day all "sort of food in such quantity as thou wishest, "comes forth from it, under the condition that "thou first distributest it among Brahmans and "Fakirs, and then among thy valiant brothers, "the Kshatriyas." Herodetes, the author of the history of the Yúnán (Greeks), stated that in a town of Rúmí there was in a temple an idol in the shape of Iskalápiús, which was known under the image of *Apú*, that is "the sun," and that, whatever question they addressed was answered by him.[2]

[1] Yudishṭ'hira, according to the Vichnu-purena (Wilson's transl., pp. 437-459), was the son of *Kuntí*, also called *Prithá*, and of the deities Dharma, Vayu, and Indra. He was the half-brother of Karna, whom his mother conceived by *Aditya*, "the sun."

[2] In the History of Herodotus, if this be meant above, the name of Esculapius does not occur. The denomination of *Rumí* may be applied to Asia Minor, Turkey, the whole ancient and modern empire of the Greeks and Romans; in so vast a space there was certainly more than one town with a temple and an oracular statue of Esculapius. One circumstance is singularly true in the above account of *Apu*, to wit: that Esculapius was formerly called *Apius*, Ἀρωγὸν αὐδήσουσιν Ἀπίου γόνον· adjuto-

The raiser of this figure was Iskalápiús. In the opinion of the Magians of Rúmi, it rendered oracles, because, having been made in strict dependency on the observation of the motions of the seven planets at the most suitable moments, it was constituted in such a manner that one of the spirits of the stars descended into it; and therefore answered any question asked from him. The name of this figure was *Saklapes*.[1]

The *Sabeans* believe that in some of their idols a white hand appears. Further, the wise men of Persia, Greece, India, and the Sabeans, all acknowledge the stars as the Kiblah, and the blessed Emperor (Akbar) also received divine commands with regard to them.

In the histories of the Turks is to be found that *Jangískhan*[2] worshipped the stars, and several

rem invocabunt Æsculapii filium—(see *Lycophron*, v. 1054); and that he was often confounded with the sun, as son of Apollo, who also was the sun, and of the nymph Coronnis, who was the daughter of *Phlegyas*, that is, "the heat of the sun."

[1] *Saklapes* probably stands for *Serapis*. It is known that Serapis and Bacchus were the sun of autumn and the sun of spring. Serapis bore sometimes the character of the Egyptian Chmún, surnamed Esculapius. To predict and to resuscitate were powers attributed to *Apollo-Esculapius*. As the latter, so had Serapis a serpent. He was also *Osiris*. *Helios-Serapis* and *Jupiter-Serapis* are read upon bronzes. Temples of Serapis were numerous in Asia, Thracia, Greece, and Italy. I shall only mention that of Antium, and that at Rome, on an island of the Tiber, beyond the pons Palatinus.

[2] Jangis khan, originally called Tamujin, was, according to Chinese and

things of wonderful meaning were connected with his person. In the first line was that which they call the state of *washt*. Some of the spirits of the stars were his assistants. During several days he was in a swoon, and in this state of senselessness all that the world-conquering Khan could articulate was *Hu, hu!* It is said that on the first manifestation of this malady, he obtained union with spirits, victories, and revelations of mysteries. The very same coat and garment which he first put on were deposited in a wardrobe, there sealed up, and kept by themselves. Every time that the illustrious Khan fell into this state, his people dressed him in that coat, and every event, victory, purpose, discovery of enemies, defeat, conquest of countries, which he desired, came upon his tongue; a person wrote down every thing, and put it into a bag which he sealed. When the world-seizing Khan recovered his senses, every thing was read to him and he acted accordingly, and every thing he had said took place. He possessed perfectly the science of divination by means of combs, and having burnt them, gave his decisions in a manner different from that of

Moghul authorities (see *Geschichte der Ost-mongolen von Isaak Jacob Schmidt, Seite* 376), born in the year of the Hejira 558 (A. D. 1162), in *Dilun Jalu'n*. It was in the year 1206 of our era that he received, in a general assembly of submissive Tartars, the name of *Jangis-khan*, "Great Khan:" his own tribe, which was that of *Moghuls*, before him called *Bida*, he raised to pre-eminence over all the Tartars.

other diviners who paid attention to combs. It is said that, when this conqueror of the world fell into the hands of his enemies, he recovered his liberty by the assistance of Amír Shír Khán, who, having given him a mare of Kirang, enabled him to join his men, who had already despaired of his life. Tulí Khán, who was then in his infancy, said one day: "My father, sitting upon a mare of Kirang, is com- "ing near." On this very day, the Khan returned in that manner to his camp. When the Turks saw the wonders of his acts, they opened freely the road of their affection to him. Such was his justice and equity, that in his army nobody was bold enough to take up a whip thrown on the road, except the proprietor of it; lying and thieving were unknown in his camp. Every woman among the Khorásánián, who had a husband living, had no attempt upon her person to fear. Thus we read in the *Tabkat Nás'eri*, "the degrees of Nas'er,"[1] that when *Malik Táj-ed din*, surnamed the King of Ghór, re-

[1] This is a work of *Nas'er eddin Tu'si* (about whom, see vol. II. p. 417, note 2, and p. 449). He was the favorite minister of Hulagu Khan, whose arms he had successfully directed against Baghdad and the Khalif. The Khan, after his conquests, took up his residence at *Maragha*, in *Aderbigan;* there he assembled philosophers and astronomers to cultivate science, under the direction of Nás'er eddin. In our days the place is still shown where the observatory of this astronomer was situated, and where he compiled the astronomic tables, known under the name of *Jal-khanni'*.

turned with the permission of Jangis Khan, from the country of Tálkán to Ghór, he related the following anecdote: When I had left the presence of Jangis Khan, and sat down in the royal tent, *Aghlán herbí*, with whom I came, and some other friends, were with me, a Moghul brought two other Moghuls, who the day before had fallen asleep when on the watch, saying: " I struck their horses with the whip, rebuking them for their guilt in sleeping, yet left them; but to-day I have brought them here." Aghlan faced these two Moghuls, asking them: " Have you fallen asleep?" Both avowed it. He then ordered one of them to be put to death; and that his head should be tied to the hair lock of the other; the latter then to be conducted through the camp, and afterwards executed. Thus it was done. I remained astonished, and said to Aglan: " There " was no witness to prove the guilt of the Moghuls; " as these two men knew that death awaits them, " why have they confessed? If they had denied, " they would have saved themselves." Aghlan Herbí replied: " Why art thou astonished? You, Tají " Khan, you act in this way, and tell lies; but, " should a thousand lives be at stake, Moghuls " would not utter a lie."

Jangis Khan raised *Oktáyí Khan* to the rank of a *Khalif*, " successor."[1] *Châtayi Khan*, who was his

[1] Jangis Khan had four sons, whose rank of seniority is differently

elder brother, in a drunken fit dashed his horse against Oktáyi Khan, and then hurried away. When he became sober, he reflected upon the danger which would ensue from his act, and that the foundation of the monarchy might be destroyed in consequence of it; therefore, presenting himself as a criminal, he said to his brother: "How could a man like me "presume to measure himself with the King, and "dash his horse against him! Therefore I am "guilty, and confess my crime. Put me to death, "or use the whip against me: you are the judge." Oktáyi replied: "A miserable like myself, what "place should he take? You are the master: what "am I?—that is, you are the elder, I the younger, "brother." Finally, Chenghâyi, presenting him nine horses, said: "I offer this as a grateful "acknowledgment that the King did not exercise "his justice towards me, and that he forgives my "crime."

When *Oktáyi Khan* dispatched *Jermághún*, a com-

stated by different authors, and among whom he divided his vast empire. *Octa'yi* was to rule all the countries of the Moghuls, Kathayans, and others extending towards the East. He died in the year of the Hejira 639 (A. D. 1241). *Châtayi'* was to possess Mawer ul nahir, Turkistan, Balkh, and Badakhshan. He died in the year of the Hejira 638 (A. D. 1240). *Juji'* was to reign over Desht, Kapchak, Kharizm, Khizer, Bulgaria, Lokmin, Alan, As, Russia, and the northern countries. He died in Hejira 624 (A. D. 1226), during his father's life. *Tuli Khan* received for his share Khorassan, India, and Persia; he died soon after his father; but his sons, Manjuka, Koblai, and Hulagú became celebrated in history.

mander of a district furnishing ten thousand men, with an army of thirty thousand warriors, to reduce the sultan *Jelal eddin*,[1] king of Kharazim, at the time of the breaking up of the army, he said to one of the Omrás, who was subordinate to Jermaghún: "The great affair of Jelal eddin in thy "hand will sufficiently occupy thee." Finally, this Amir, having fallen upon the Sultan Jelal-eddin in Kurdistan, destroyed him completely. The liberality and generosity of Oktáyikán was as conspicuous as the sun. When *Tayir Baháder*, in the year of the Hejira 625 (A. D. 1227) moved the army of the Moghuls from *Abt'al* to the country of *Sistán*, they besieged the fort *Arak*; at that time the plague manifested itself among the Moghuls, so that, at first, a pain was felt in the mouth, then the teeth moved, and on the third day death ensued. *Malik Sálakín*,

[1] Jangis Khan, during his terrific career, in the fourteenth year of slaughter, devastation, and conquest, fell upon the empire of Kharism and Ghazni. Muhammed of the Seljuks was driven from all his possessions, and died a fugitive. He had before divided his empire between his four sons, to one of whom *Jela'l eddin*, he had assigned Kharizm, Khorassan, Mazinderan, Ghazni, Bamian, Ghor, Bost Takanad, Zamigdand, and all the Indian provinces. This prince, retiring before superior forces towards Ghazni, gained two battles over the Moghuls, but was at last obliged to fly to the banks of the Indus. There, closely pressed by the enemies, who murdered his captive son seven years old before his eyes, he threw his mother, wife, and the rest of his family, at their own desire, into the water, and then swam, with a few followers, across the river, before his admiring pursuers, who followed him no further.

the governor of the fort, fixed upon the stratagem that seven hundred young men should lie in ambush: who, when they should hear the sound of the war-drum from the eastern gate, opposite which they were placed, were to break out from the ambush, and fall on the back of the enemies. Conformably with this plan, in the morning the eastern gate was opened, and the Muselmans were engaged in the assault; but when the drum was beaten, nobody came forth from the ambush: after three watches, a man was was sent to bring intelligence from that quarter, but he found them all dead.

The world-conquering Jangiz Khan, at the time of his wasting away, said to his sons: "Never de- "viate from your faith, nor lend your powerful "support to other religions; because, as long as "you remain firmly rooted in your faith, your peo- "ple and companions will acknowledge you as the "chiefs of their faith, and count you as the leaders "of worship; but he who changes his religion for "that of others, being a chief of the faith, may be "still considered as a chief by the people of the new "religion; but in the eyes of his own people will "lose that dignity: because he who passes over with "you to another faith will esteem as chiefs those of "the new faith; besides, he who remains attached "to my faith will also be displeased with you for "not having continued in the religion of his fa-

" thers." To sum up all, as long as they conformed themselves to the last will of the Khan, they were powerful; but when they deviated from his counsel, they sunk into distress and abjection. The stars were favorable to them in every thing.[1]

It is related: Kík Khan, who was of the family of Chaghaty Khan, was one day walking with noblemen of his suit in the plain, travelling about in the desert. At once, his looks fell upon bones; at the same moment he became thoughtful, and then asked: " Do you know what this handful of bones says to " me?" They replied: " The King knows best." He resumed: " They demand justice from me as " being oppressed." He demanded information about the history of these bones from Amír Hazárah, who held this country under his dependence. This governor inquired of Amir Sadah, who administered this district under him; and after reiterated

[1] Jangis Khan died in the year of the Hejira 626 (A. D. 1228), in his sixty-sixth year. He left an empire which extended from the Indus to the Black sea; from the banks of the Wolga to the remote plains of China; and from the arid shores of the Persian gulf to the cold deserts of Siberia. Having, in his early age, been driven by his subjects from his home, he passed several years under the protection of a Christian prince, *Awenk Khan*, or *Ungh Khan*, known to Europeans under the name of *Prester John;* and was therefore supposed by some to have adopted the Christian religion: thus much is true — he and his successors protected the Christians and persecuted the Muhammedans, until *Nikuda'r Oglan* professed the Muhammedan faith, in A. D. 1281, and drove the Christians out of his empire.

investigations, it became clear that, nine years before, a caravan had been attacked at this place by a band of highwaymen, and plundered of their property, a part of which remained still in the hands of the guilty. At last it was recovered from the murderers, and restored to the heirs of the slain who were in Khorásán.

It is said that, when an army of the Moghuls was occupied with the siege of the fort of *Imbál*, in which were the mother and several women of the king of Khárarem, nobody had ever given information that the garrison was distressed for want of water. Although a quantity of rain-water was collected in the reservoirs, so that during years they had no need of spring-water, yet at the time when the Moghuls were encamped before the place to reduce it, no rain had fallen, and one day not a drop of water remained in the reservoirs; the next day the women of the Turks and Nas'er eddin, with thirsty lips, compelled by necessity came down to surrender; but at the very moment that they arrived at the foot of the fort, and the army of the Moghuls entered it, a heavy rain began to pour down, so that the water ran out from the ditches of the fort. When this intelligence was brought to the Sultan Muhammed, sovereign of Khárazem, he become insensible, and when he recovered his senses, he died without being able to utter a word.

Upon the whole: as long as the Sultans of the Moghuls preserved the worship of the stars, they conquered the inhabitants of the world; but, as soon as they abandoned it, they lost many countries, and those which they kept were without value and strength.[1]

Section IV. — Upon the sayings of his Majesty (Akbar), dwelling in the seventh heaven.

First, the ordinances of conduct which the Nawab, the wise and learned Shaikh Abu 'l Fazil wrote, with the pen of accuracy, by orders of his Majesty, dwelling in heaven, in order that the governors of the countries occupied by his sovereignty, and the clerks, may pay attention to their execution.

This is "God is great;" this is the patent of the Ilahí faith: and the ordinances of conduct are a work of instruction, which sprung from the fountain of benevolence, and the mine of kindness of sovereignty,

[1] The duration of Jangis Khan's dynasty reckoned from the year of the Hejira 599 (A. D. 1202) extended by fourteen princes to 736 (A. D. 1335), comprising 137 lunar, 133 solar, years. It does not appear that change of religion, by itself, had any influence upon the decline and fall of this dynasty.

and according to which the regulators of the royal offices, the managers of the Khalifa's court among his fortunate sons, the gentle-minded princes, the Omrahs, high in dignity, all men of rank, the collectors of revenues and the Kótwals may settle their practices; and in the arrangement of important affairs in great cities and in villages, and in all places maintain their authority.

The principal point is summarily this: that, in in all transactions, they may endeavor to deserve the divine favor, by their usages and pious practices; and that, humbly suppliant in the court of God, without partial complacence to themselves and to others, they may execute the law in their proceedings. Another point is, that they may not too much like their private apartment; for this is the manner of the desert-choosing durvishes; that they may not accustom themselves to sit in the society of common people, nor to mix in large crowds; for this is the mode of market people; in short, that they may keep the medium between the two extremes, and never forsake the just temperance; that is, avoid equally excess in dissipation and retirement. Besides, they are enjoined to venerate those who are distinguished by devotion to the incomparable God; to take the habit of vigilance in the morning and evening, and particularly at midnight; and at all times, when they are free from the affairs of God's

creatures, to occupy themselves with perusing the books of the masters of purity and sanctity, and the books of moral philosophy, which is the medicine of spirituality and the essence of all sciences; such as *Ikhlák Naseri*, " the Ethics of Nas'ery;"[1] and *manjíat wa mahelkat*, " the Causes of Salvation and Perdition," *Ahyáyi úlúm ál dín*, " the Revival " of the Sciences of Faith;"[2] the *Kimíáyi Sâadet*, Al- " chymy of Felicity;"[3] and *Masnaví*, " the poetical " compostion of the Máulavi of Rúm,"[4] so that having attained the highest degree of religious knowledge, they may not be liable to be moved from their station by the fictions of the masters of deceit and falsehood; as in this state of dependence the best sort of worship is, after all, the most im-

[1] A work of Nas'ir-eddin Tusi, upon whom see vol. II. p. 417.

[2] This is a celebrated work of Ghazáli.—(See vol. II. p. 350, note.)

[3] A work of the same author.

[4] *Rumi'* is the surname under which *Ali Ebn Abbas*, an illustrious poet, is most known. He was of Turkish origin, but born in Syria. He composed several works, which Avisenna used to read with delight, and the most difficult passages of which he commented. He died in the year of the Hejira 283 (A. D. 896)—(see Herbelot). But the poet above alluded to is *Mawlana Jelal eddin Rumi'*, whose proper name is Muhammed of Balkh, who derives his origin from Muhammed, son of Amam. He is praised as the greatest mystical poet of the Orient, the oracle of the Súfis, the nightingale of contemplative life, the author of the Masnavi (a double-rhymed poem), the founder of the Mawlavis, the most celebrated order of mystic Durvishes. He died in the year of the Hejirah 661 (A. D. 1262). We shall quote hereafter a specimen of his poetry. (See upon him *Schöne Redekünste Persiens*, by baron von Hammer, pp. 163 *et seq.*)

portant concern of creatures; that, without being influenced by friendship or enmity, without regard to relations or strangers, they may with an open forehead raise themselves to a dignified rank; further, that they may, to the extent of their power, confer benefits upon the religious mendicants, the miserable and indigent, particularly upon the pious recluse in a corner, and upon the saints, who, straitened in their expense and income, never open their lips for a demand; that, being in company with the pious hermits seeking God, they may beg their benediction; besides that, having weighed the faults, errors, and crimes of men in the balance of justice, they may assign to each his proper place, and by the balance of well-founded appreciation bestow retribution upon each; that by the judgment of sagacious men they may find out in the crowd him whose faults ought to be concealed and passed over, and him whose guilt is to be examined, proclaimed, and punished; for there are faults which deserve greatly to be repressed, and others which are to be treated with great indulgence; it is required that, to show the right way to the disobedient, they use advice and gentleness, harshness or mildness, according to the difference of rank and season; when advice remains without effect, then imprisoning, beating, maiming of members, and capital punishment may be inflicted, according to the diver-

sity of cases; but in putting a man to death they ought not to be too rash, but rather employ an abundance of considerations:

"A head once severed cannot be refitted to the body."

Whenever practicable, they ought to send the delinquent worthy of death to the King's court, and there represent his case. If keeping him be likely to occasion an insurrection, or (sending him to the King's court) become the cause of trouble, in this necessity he may be executed; but flaying alive, or throwing a man under the feet of an elephant, which is practised by violent kings, ought to be avoided. The treatment of every man is to be conformable to his rank and condition; because to a high-minded man a severe look is equivalent to death, whilst to an abject person, even flagellation is nothing. Besides, remission is to be made to any body who, by his genius, knowledge, and virtue should have acquired consideration, and when the magistrates observe in his conduct any thing unbecoming in their opinion, they ought to tell it to him in private. If one of the historians of the times relates something wrong, they are not to rebuke him severely for it; for a rebuke is a barrier upon the road of truth-speaking; and he upon whom the incomparable God has conferred the aptness of speaking truth, deserves to be accounted precious:

for men are excessively weak, and those who are of a mean origin and depraved, have no inclination to speak truth, but choose to submit to every sort of abjectness. He who is of a good disposition is cautious that nothing in his speech may be disagreeable to the ears of his master, and that he may not incur disgrace. But the man of noble sentiments, who prefers his own loss to the advantage of others, possesses the science of the philosopher's stone. Administrators ought not to be fond of flattery, as many affairs are left undone on account of flatterers; nor ought they, on the other hand, to ill treat those who are not flatterers, as a servant may also be obliged to say unpleasing things.

The judges should attend personally, as much as possible, to the examination of the plaintiff (*verse of Sâdi*):

"Throw not his complaint to the *diva'n* (tribunal),
"As he may possibly have to complain of the divan itself."

The plaintiffs ought to be examined in the order in which their names are inscribed on the list, in order that he who came first may not be subject to the inconvenience of waiting. The disposal of precedence or delay is not to rest with the first registrars of the court. If a person be accused of acting criminally, the judges ought not to precipitate his punishment; for there are many eloquent slanderers, and few well-intentioned speakers of what is

right. During the period of anger, they ought not to let the bridle of reason slip out of their hands, but act with calmness and reflexion. It becomes them to grant privileges to some of their friends and servants, who are distinguished by great wisdom and devotedness. At the time of overbearing grief and affliction, when the wise abstain from speaking, let them not exceed either in words, silence, or imbecility. They should be sparing with their oaths, as much swearing raises a suspicion of lying. They ought not to accustom themselves to offend an interlocutor by evil surmises or by bad names: for these are vile manners. Finally, it is their duty to show solicitude for the promotion of agriculture, the welfare of the cultivator, and the assistance of tenants; in order that, from year to year, the great cities, the villages, and towns may rise in prosperity, and acquire such facility of improvement that the whole land may be rendered fit for cultivation, and consequently the increase of population be carried to the utmost.

These ordinances, separately written, are to be communicated to every agent of government, that they may apply their minds to the execution of them; in short, having given notice of them to all subjects small and great, the magistrates ought not

to deviate from them under no circumstance nor in any manner: and to prevent the soldiers from entering the houses of the inhabitants without their permission; besides, in their proceedings, they should not rely upon their own judgment, but ask the advice of those who are wiser than themselves; not obtaining this, they ought nevertheless not to desist from seeking advice; as it happens frequently that even the ignorant may indicate the road of truth, as it was said (*by Sadi*):

"Now and then, from the aged sage,
"Right advice is not derived;
"Now and then, the unmeaning ignorant
"By accident hits the butt with his arrow."

Moreover, advice is not to be asked from many persons: for, right judgment in practical life is a particular gift of God; it is not acquired by reading, nor is it found by good fortune. It may also happen, that a set of ignorant men opposes thy endeavors, and causes irksome embarrassment in thy way, so as to retain thee from the dictates of thine own reason, and from the right-acting men, whose number is always small.

The magistrates are also directed never to charge their sons with a business which belongs to servants; and never to be a guarantee for what is done by their sons; as thou canst easily find amends for what passes between others; but, for what occurs

to thee a remedy is difficult. It may become thee to listen to excuses, and to look with half-shut eyes at some faults; for there is no man without guilt or defect; rebuke sometimes renders him but bolder; sometimes depresses him beyond measure. There are men who must be reprehended at each fault; there are others in whom a thousand faults must be overlooked; in short, the affair of punishment does not suit the dignity of the impörtant concerns of royalty, and is to be carried with calmness and judgment to its proper aim. A governor ought to grant all facilities to God-fearing and zealous men, and to inquire from them the good and the bad, never ceasing to collect information: for royalty and command borrow security from vigilance. He ought not to oppose the creed and religion of the creatures of God: inasmuch as a wise man chooses not his loss in the affairs of this perishable world, how in those of religion, which is permanent and eternal, should he knowingly tend to his perdition? If God be with his faith, then thou thyself carriest on controversy and opposition against God; and if God fails him, and he unknowingly takes the wrong way, then he proves to himself a rule of erroneous profession, which demands pity and assistance, not enmity or contradiction. Those who act and think well, bear friendship to every sect. Besides, they avoid excess in sleeping and eating, without

deviating from the measure of what is necessary, so that, rising above the relinquished step of brutishness, they attain a distinguished rank of humanity. Let it be recommended to watch by night as much as possible; never to show violent enmity towards any man; and to beware of making one's bosom the prison-house of rancour; should it nevertheless take place from the infirmity of human nature, let it soon be stifled: for, in the interior of our soul resides the true agent, the unparallelled God, and raises tumultuous strife for the sake of provoking the investigation of truth.

A governor should disdain laughing and joking; he should always be informed of every occurrence by spies; but never rely upon the information of one of them, because truth and disinterestedness are rare among them; therefore, in every affair, let him appoint several spies and intelligencers, who are not to know each other; and, having written down separately the account given by each of them; compare them with each other. But the notorious spies are to be dismissed and discarded from his presence, nor access granted to persons of mean birth and depraved habits, although this sort of people may be usefully employed against other bad men; but he should never let the account-book slip out of his hands, and always entertain in his heart suspicion against this class of men, that they may

not perhaps, under the guise of friendship, usurp the place of honest men. Let him observe those near him and his servants, that they may not, on account of their approaching him, oppress others. He ought to be on his guard against the flattering-tongued liars, who in the garb of friendship act the part of real enemies, as disorders are occasioned by their agency. Great personages, on account of abundant occupations, have little, but these malefactors have a great deal of leisure; therefore, from all sides and quarters, precautions against the latter are required. To cut short all prolixity, a governor ought to find men worthy of confidence, and pay the greatest attention to the promotion of knowledge and industry, so that men of talent may not fall off from their high station among men. He ought besides to favor the good education of the old families of the royal court.

The warlike requisites and arms of the soldiers are by no means to be neglected. Further, the expenses must always be less than the revenues: this last is of the most essential concern, for it is said: Whoever spends more than he receives is a blockhead; he who equals his expense and income is to be accounted neither wise nor stupid; but he lays no foundation of any establishment; he is always subject to service, expecting favor, and dependant upon promises. A commander is

bound to be true in his words, particularly with the functionaries of government. Let him constantly practise shooting with arrows and guns, and exercise the soldiers in arms; but not be passionately devoted to hunting, although he may sometimes indulge in it for the training of troops, and the recreation of the mind, which is indispensable in this world of dependencies. He is never permitted to take corn from the class of the Rayas, with the intention to hoard it up for selling it at a high price. Let him attend to the beating of the kettle-drum at the rising of that luminary which bestows light upon the world; and at midnight, which is properly the beginning of sunrise, and during the progress of the great majestic light from station to station, let him order small and great guns to be fired, so that all all men be called up to offer thanks to God.

Somebody ought to be placed at the gate of the court, for bringing all petitions before the high presence of the King. If there be no *Kútwál*,[1] he ought, observing well the parts and rules of it, to apply himself to the performance of this office, and not on account of considering it rustic (low) business, say to himself: "How can I do the business of a Kút-"wál?" but from piety acknowledging the greatness of God, he ought to submit to this charge.

[1] Police officer or inspector.

To explain clearly its duties, the first of all is, that the Kútwál of every city, town, and village write down, with the agreement of the people, their houses and buildings; as well as register in a book the inhabitants of every part of a place from house to house, and, having taken security from house to house, grant them free intercourse with each other; having determined the divisions in each of them, a head man of the division is to be appointed, so that the good and bad men may be under his superintendence; he must also appoint spies, by whose means every occurrence by night and day, the arrivals and departures in each quarter, are to be recorded. He ought to establish that, whenever a theft is committed, fire breaks out, or any other mishap takes place, at the very moment succor be given by the neighbors, and likewise all householders tender their services: if they be absent without necessity, they are to be held guilty. Nobody can undertake a journey without giving information of it to his neighbor, the head man of the division, or the recorder of news. No man of bad character is to be received in any quarter of the place, and all those who have not given security, are to be kept separate from the other inhabitants in the great public house, to which a head man and a recorder of news are to be attached. The Kútwal ought to be perpetually informed of the income and expense of

every individual, for the sake of survey and precaution, and fix his attention on it: for, any body whose income is small and expense great, cannot certainly be without guilt. It is incumbent on him to follow an indication, and never to be remiss in attention to persons of good birth and right intentions. This inquiry is to be understood as a measure of order, and not as the means of rapine and oppression. Further, the Kútwal's business is to establish in the bazar, "market," brokers of all sorts, after having taken security from them, that he may receive notice of whatever is bought and sold. He ought to declare that whoever buys or sells any thing without notice, is subject to a fine. The names of the buyer and seller are to be entered into a daily register, and nothing is to be bought or sold without the consent of the head man of the division. Moreover, the Kútwál must appoint guards for watching at night in every quarter, every street, and in the whole district of the town, and endeavor that in the quarters, bazars, and streets no stranger be found; he must apply to the search and pursuit of thieves and pickpockets, and other delinquents, and leave no trace of them. Whatever is purloined or plundered he must bring forth, together with the pilferers, and if not, by returning the equivalent, he must make good the damages. It is his duty to ascertain the property of strangers and deceased persons, in

order that, if there be heirs, he may remit it to them, and if not, deliver it to the Amín, "superintendant," and write an explanation thereof to the Royal court, so that at any time when the true proprietor is discovered, he may be put in possession of it. In this transaction too, he ought to manifest his right principles and his good origin, so as, perhaps, to come up to what is customary in the country of Rúm. The Kútwal is further bound to endeavor that there be no trace of wine-drinking to be found, and to reprehend, with the concurrence of the judge, the buyer and seller, the abettor and perpetrator thereof; so that the people may take an example from it; nevertheless, if any body, of high character for prudence for the sake of relaxation of mind, makes use of wine as a medicine, no opposition is to be made to his usage.

The Kútwal must be sollicitous for the cheapness of provisions, and not allow rich men to buy and to hoard a large quantity to sell it dear afterwards. Let him take care of providing the requisites for the *Náúroz*, "new year;" this is a great festival, the beginning of which is the time when the great world-illuming luminary enters the sign of Aries, at the commencement of the month *Farvardín* (March). Another feast is on the 19th of the said month, which is the day of the most glorious sun. Other feasts are as follows: the 3rd of *Ardíbihest* (April);

the 6th of *Khórdád* (May); the 10th of *Abán* (October); the 9th of *Azar* (November); in the month of *Dái* (December) are three festivals, viz. on the 8th, the 15th, and the 23rd; besides, the 2nd of *Bahman* (January), and the 15th of *Isfendármend* (February). The known festivals are to be celebrated according to regulations; and the nights of the *Náú-róz* and *Sherif*, "glorious," are to be illuminated by torches, in the manner of the night *Bharát*, in the 8th Arabian month, called *Shâabán*, "consecrated to the memory of forefathers;" and in the first night which is followed by the morning of a festival, the kettle-drum is to be beaten, which is also to be done on an elephant's back on all festivals. A woman ought never, without necessity, to appear on horseback. The Kútwál is enjoined to separate the fords of rivers for bathing from those for fetching water, and to assign particular fords to women.

The emperor inhabiting the seventh heaven, Akbar, wrote a book of advice for the King Ahás Safaví, and this was also penned by Shaikh Abu 'l Fazil. Some precepts from this book are as follows: The high personages of the people, who are the depositors of the divine secrets, are to be considered with eyes of benign admiration, and kept with zeal in our conciliated hearts. Acknowledging that the bounty of the incomprehensible God embraces all religions,

let us entirely devote ourselves to the culture of flowers in the rose garden of the perpetual spring of peace, and unceasingly attend to the *Nas eb ul âyín*, " establishment of the thing itself," as to the study of promoting one's happiness; as the Almighty God, opening the door of his bounty to the different religions[1] in their various means of salvation, maintains them; so, in imitation of him, it is incumbent on the powerful Kings, who are the shädes of divine providence, never to desist from this rule, because the Creator of the universe confided to them this vast population for the sake of directing the state of the apparent world, and of watching over all mankind, not without preserving the good name of exalted families.

In Multan, we saw the Shah Salám ulla; he was a man unmarried, attached to the unity of God, and to sanctity; having retired from the world, he said: " I was often in the society of Jelál eddin Akbar; I " heard him frequently say: ' Had I possessed be- " ' fore the knowledge which I now have, I would " ' never, for my sake, have taken a wife; for to me " ' the elder matrons are mothers, women of my " ' age sisters, and the younger ones daughters.' " One of my friends heard this speech, which has just been attributed to the blessed emperor, from the

[1] The original means *masha'reb*, " drinks, drinking vessels," above rendered by " religions."

mouth of the Nawáb Abu 'l Hassen, surnamed Lashker Khán Mashhedí. Shah Salam ulla related also that he heard the lord khalífah of God say, weeping: "Would to God my body were the greatest of all, "that the inhabitants of the world might take their "food from it, and not hurt any other living being." A proof of the extensive views of this celebrated King was, that he employed in his service men of all nations—Firangis, Jews, Iránians, and Turánians; because, if they were all of one nation, they would be disposed to rebellion, as it was the case with the Usbéks, and the Kazel báshan, who dethroned their sultan; but the King Abás, son of sultan Khodabendah Safaví, who succeeded him, reduced the Kurjís to order. He also paid no attention to the wealth of heritage, but without showing partiality to lineage or religion, he promoted the skilled in science and laws.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE WISE (PHILOSOPHERS),

IN THREE SECTIONS.

SECTION I. Of the religion of the philosophers, and of some branches of their questions.

Section II. Of their reputation.

Section III. Of the wise men, and of late philosophers, and of those of that class who existed among all the nations of the children of Adam, and still exist; named in Persian *Zirek*, and *Farzanah;* in Hindi *Budhvan*, *Badisher*, *Set mat*, *Set pati*, *Kianisher*, *Chater*, *Pah danter*, and *Jami;* in Greek *Filsofi;* and in Arabic *Hakim*.

Section I. — Of the religion of the philosophers, and of some branches of their questions.

The distinguished men of that class divide themselves into two sorts: the one are the Oriental, the other the Occidental. As to the religious customs of the Orientals, let it be known, that they are also called *Ravákín*, and in Persian *Keshísh*, "the religious," *Pertavi*, "the splendent," and *Róshendil*, "the enlightened," and in Hindí *Ner mel men* and *Jókísher:* these names relate to sanctity. The Occidentals are called in Persian *Rah berí*, "way-guides," and *Joya*, inquirers;" in Hindí *Tárkek*.

As to their tendency and opinions—whatever relates to the creed of the Orientals has already been stated in the chapter on the *Yezdánián*, who are also entitled *Azarhóshangian*, but all that is attributed to the two sects is symbolical. The ancient philosophers of Greece, down to *Aflátún* (Plato), were Oriental; it was Aras tu (Aristotle), his disciple, who then took the lead in the doctrine, the centre of which with this class is the argumentative reason.

Both sects, by means of their discussions, cannot explain the nature of the self-existing being; the essence, unity, particularity, and all attributes are inherent in his holy nature, as I have said in the account of the religion of the Hoshanganians. They have said besides: God is the world in its universality, but in its particularity mutable conformably with the whole, as it has been stated in the doctrine of the Yezdánían. They maintain, the work of God is according to his will; he does; if he wills not, he does not; but a good work is conformable to his nature: because all his attributes are perfection, in which sense they draw necessary conclusions with regard to the nature of God.

"The year of God is that which passeth away; and thou shalt not find "a change in the years of God."

Their creed is: God is not the immediate actor; as it would not be suitable to the dignity of royalty and sovereignty to perform himself every business; but it is proper that he should appoint some one of his servants who, on account of his great knowledge and power, is qualified for business, for the execution of the royal orders and the protection of the subjects. The latter also may, by the Sultan's order, name another as Vizir or Nawab, for the affairs; every one of these chiefs may instal functionaries or agents; so that the whole administration may be firmly established according to the desire and the

order of the sovereign. On that account, God created a first intellect, called in Persian *Bahman*, that is, "supreme soul," or *Barósú*, or *Ferósu*, or *Serósh seróshán*, and "the science of truth;" he who produced something "new;" he is also entitled "the "true man: '*God created man according to his image;*" that is to say, pure, uncompounded, like reason, betwixt necessity and possibility,[1] in the centre between both; necessity is on his right side, possibility on his left; the perfect spirit rises from the left, which is the side of possibility. With respect to truth, the image of man is *ákl*,[2] "spirit of wisdom, "the holy spirit, and the image of Eva a perfect spirit: on that account it was said that the forthcoming of Eva took place from Adam's left side. The Sofis also agree with this, as we find it explained by Shaikh Muhammed Láhají,[3] in his work *Sharah-i-*

[1] امکان *imkan*, "possibility," signifies that, the existence or non-existence of which, is the necessary consequence of the essence of a thing. The philosophers distinguish by name four sorts of possibility: 1. *imkan zati*, "possibility with respect to essence;" 2. *imkan istidadi*, "possi- "bility by disposition," also called *moku'ni*, "eventual;" 3. *imkan khaz*, "special possibility;" and 4. *imkan ám*, "general possibility."—(See on this subject *Jorjani's Definitions*, *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. XI. pp. 82-83.)

[2] The word *ákl* has a manifold and therefore often vague meaning; it corresponds sometimes to Holy Ghost. I thought it right to translate it hereafter by "intelligency," in the double acceptation of "unbodied "spirits" and "wisdom;" and also by "reason."

[3] His whole title is *Shemseddin Muhammed ben Yahja, ben Ali Lahja'ni*, a native of Lahjan, a town in the province of Gilan. He wrote in

Gulshen, " the Commentary of the Rose-bower." Jesus, the son of God, proceeds from this " holy " spirit." When wisdom manifests itself through somebody, it is called his " spirit of wisdom;" and when impressions of sciences in all creatures have penetrated through its mediation, it is named " ar- " row;" and as the perfection of the lord of the prophetic asylum is a ray of that jewel, it bears the name of " Muhammed's light."

" If not for thee, I would not have created the worlds." [1]

These are the attributes of its nature, and besides these it has many names. By the intervention of the first intelligence came forth the second intelligence, the spirit and body of " the crystalline hea- " ven;" and the soul of the heaven above the crystalline firmament is called " *havâyi mânavi*, " the " true soul." By the intervention of the second intelligence, the third, and the spirit and body of the heaven of the fixed stars were produced. In this wonderful way, intelligences and spirits were formed, until the spirits of the tenth class; [2] among

A. D. 1474 a work under the title *Mefat-i-hul âjaib fi sherh-i-Gulshen-raz*, " the Key of Marvels, in explanation of the Mystery of the Rose- " bower." The latter work was quoted vol. 1. p. 82.

[1] See vol. 1. p. 2. note.

[2] I shall attempt to sketch, in the smallest possible compass, the fundamental ideas of Asiatic cosmology, which are rather confusedly stated in the text.

According to the Dasatir, God created primitively, immediately, and

these ten bringers of good news (Evangelists) are distinguished; likewise nine heavens were brought

singly, *the supreme intelligence;* this produced the *second intelligence*, with the primitive soul and body; the second intelligence brought forth the third, and the corresponding heavenly sphere, with soul and body; and so down to the tenth intelligence, to wit that of *human reason*. The modern Orientals kept the first-born supreme intelligence, which to the Muhammedans was sanctified by the verse of the Koran, saying: *The first being which God created was intelligence*, and established a double series of descending intelligences and ascending heavenly spheres, as follows, according to the ancient and modern system:

COSMOLOGY

OF THE DASATIR.		OF THE MODERN ORIENTALS.	
Intelligences.			*Spheres.*
The Ist intelligence.			
II	The Ist intelligence.	The IXth heavenly sphere.	The uppermost Heaven.
III	II	VIII	That of the zodiac, or of fixed stars.
IV	III	VII	That of Saturn.
V	IV	VI	Jupiter.
VI	V	V	Mars.
VII	VI	IV	the Sun.
VIII.....	VII	III	Venus.
IX	VIII.....	II	Mercury.
X	IX	I	the Moon.
XI	X	The human.	the Earth.

The difference between the system of the Dasatir and the latter consists only in this: that the first enthrones the first supreme intelligence, or reason, above all nine heavenly spheres, and assigns to the second intelligence with its soul and body the ninth sphere, in which the latter system places the first intelligence, and the third intelligence corresponds to the eighth sphere, and so on; each intelligence is placed in the first system, one sphere higher than in the latter; so that the numbers of intelligences and spheres, counterparts of each other, do not form a perfect *Dekas*, which mutually meets in the sacred number *five*, but they make an Endekas. Besides, the Muhammedan philosophers call the soul of the second intelligence "the truth of truths," and identify it with Muhammed, who is said to have declared: *The first being which God created*

into existence, that they may correspond to nine prophets. From the tenth class of intelligences came forth the matter of the elements, and bodies, and the spirits of elemental existence. The philosophers said, that ten kinds of intelligences are enumerated, not because there may not exist any more, but because these are required; and likewise we want the number of nine heavens, without its being prohibited to add any other. The Eastern philosophers however declare themselves against numbering the kinds of intelligences, because, with them every kind of thing has its god, whom they call "the god of the species," in Persian *Dára*, the angel of rains, the angel of rivers, to which the following sentence relates:

"Each thing has its angel to whom it is confided, and an angel de-
"scends with every drop."

The Oriental philosophers hold the bodies to be shadows of the uncompounded lights.

"Seest thou not that God has spread his shadow over me?"

According to the sages, the kinds of intelligences and spirits of heaven are the heavenly angels, who have no body nor any thing corporeal, neither feathers nor wings. When an effulgence of the luminous attributes of the self-existing Being falls upon them, it is by the mediating power of this ray, that

was my light. — (See upon this subject *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur.* 1823. *Erste Hälfte,* pp. 313, etc.)

deeds of wonderful purity proceed from them; and in this production there is no need of a motion, nor of an instrument, in like manner as in the forthcoming of a work of God his will is sufficient. This meaning has been made intelligible to the understanding of the vulgar by saying, that an angel with feathered wings traversed the distance of a road which could not be travelled over in a thousand years. They say also that Isráfíl is one of the powers of the sun; the angel of death proceeds from Saturn; Míkáil from the moon; and Jebríl emanated from the tenth power of intelligence. As often as, on account of the revolution of the heavens or the motion of the stars, something suitable manifests itself in the elemental matter, compounded and uncompounded, it issues into existence by way of emanation from the superior wisdom; and the revelation of the prophet, and the instruction of the perfect to mankind, takes place by the intervention of the last-mentioned angel. On that account there is an intrinsic connexion between the souls of the prophets and this by-standing angel. According to the Eastern philosophers, Jabríl is a god of a kind similar to human nature, and called in Persian *Wakhshur*, "prophet," and *Serósh pajám sipár*, "Serosh, the "message-bringer." In the opinion of the philosophers, the crystalline heaven is the ninth heaven, and the heaven of the fixed stars the throne of God.

The exalted rational spirit is without an habitation, and, without being in the body, is connected with it, in a manner similar to that of a lover with his mistress. This doctrine is very ancient with the Orientals, as has been stated in the account about the Azar Hóshangían, but with the first master among the learned, Aristotle and his followers, it is a tradition. According to general consent, the soul is eternal.

" Believe not that those who were killed in the way of God are dead; " on the contrary, they are living and nourished at the side of their " Lord." [1]

To unite the soul with the body is as much as to drive Adam from heaven; to long for the body is to bear the commands of Eva; and to perform bad actions is to eat of the forbidden tree; anger is the serpent; lust is the peacock. They hold that Iblis represents the power of imagination which guides us, and the sensual influence which denies the knowledge of words and things consentient with reason, and contends with the power of reason; that what is stated in the law, that all angels prostrated themselves before Adam, except Iblis, signifies that all bodily powers, which are the angels of the earth, are obedient to the soul of Adam, except the po er of imagination, that is Iblis, which is rebellious, and sometimes gets the better of judgment. Reason says, that a corpse is to be

[1] Koran, chap. III. v. 163.

accounted a mineral, and no wise to be feared; but imagination says: "this is true; nevertheless we "must fear;" and when one finds himself in a house alone with a dead man, it may happen that his mind experiences an agitation of terror. The Súfis too agree with this, as we find it expressed by the venerable Shaikh Mahmúd Shósterí[1] in a chapter of the *Merát ul Mohakakín*, "the mirror of the investi- "gators of truth." It is stated in the *Akhván ús afá*, "the companions of purity," of Mullá Alí, that there were intelligences and spirits which were not ordered to adore Adam, as being of a higher rank, as it is written in the Koran, that God, the All-just, addressed this speech to Iblis:

"Thou art proud; believest thou thyself to be one of the more exalted "beings?"[2]

And this was the occasion on which the angels of the earth were ordered to adore Adam.

The Orientals maintain that when the soul realises, as it ought to do, the conditions of its primitive origin, it obtains emancipation from the bodily bonds, and joins the intelligences and spirits: this exalted dignity is Paradise.

[1] *Shosterí*, or *Tosterí*, "native of the town of Shoster or Toster," is the surname of Abu Muhammed (above Mahmud); *Sahal Ben And.* He is reputed as one of the principal chiefs of the Sufis; he was a disciple of Zu al nun, and condisciple of Jionaid. He died in his eightieth year, in the year of the Hejira 283 (A. D. 896).

[2] See pp. 8–9, note 2.

"O peaceful soul, return to thy lord willingly and readily; and whoever desires to meet his lord, let him perform good works."

In this high state it is possible to behold the face of God. There is another sect which asserts, that the All-Just is visible; they say right; because the rational soul sees with interior eyes: another sect which denies the seeing of God is also right; because he cannot be seen with bodily eyes,

"The eyes attain him, and attain him not."

But the soul which has left the narrow prison of the body, but has not attained the field of its beatifying residence, unites, for taking a seat, with the body of any one of the celestial spheres with which it has some relation; it finds rest in the higher or lower heavens, according to order and distinction; it is engaged in the contemplation of beauteous forms, and the noble endowments of one who praises God in the delight of that sphere, which, with some, means the fancy of a particular kind, and is blessed by the enjoyment of delightful imaginations and representations. What is stated in the code of law, that the souls of the vulgar among the believers are in the first heaven; this is founded upon the words of the prophet.

"His acquisition is but a known place."

The meaning of this relates to the different degrees of merit.

By "Paradise" is understood one of the heavens,

eight of which are counted, and these are beneath the ninth, which is the roof of the Paradise, as it is stated in the traditions. But, when the souls not yet come forth from the pit of the natural darkness of bodily matter, are nevertheless in a state of increasing improvement, then, in an ascending way, they migrate from body to body, each purer than the former one, until the time of climbing up to the steps of the wished-for perfection of mankind, yet according to possibility, after which, purified of the defilement of the body, they join the world of sanctity: and this final migration (death) is called *nasikh*, "obliteration."

"The verses which we have abrogated, we have replaced by others."

Some call this state *Aârâf*,[1] "boundary;" which

[1] *Aârâ'f*, the plural of *ârf*, from the verb *arafa*, "to distinguish be-"tween two things, or part of them:" some interpret it as above, "a "wall; any thing that is high raised, as a wall of separation may be "supposed to be." In the Koran, chap. VII. entitled *Al Aârâ'f*, v. 44, it is called "a veil," to wit: "Between the blessed and the damned there "shall be a veil, and men shall stand on *Al Araf*, who shall know every "one of them by their mark, and shall call unto the inhabitants of Para-"dise, saying: 'Peace be upon you:' yet they shall not enter therein, "although they earnestly desire it." It appears a sort of purgatory for those who deserve neither hell nor heaven. In this sense it is taken above. Others imagine it to be a state of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and saints, among whom there will also be angels in the form of men. But, on the day of universal judgment, all those who are confined in this place shall prostrate themselves in adoration before the Lord, and hear these words: "Enter ye into paradise; "there shall come no fear upon you, neither shall ye be grieved."—*Ibid.*, v. 47.

means a wall between heaven and hell, behind which shall be those who in their conduct fell short of goodness, until the time of being permitted to enter into heaven. If the iniquities of the souls predominate, then, descending, they assume the forms of animals corresponding to their prevailing character: thus, the souls of the powerful malefactors and of the furious enter into the bodies of lions; the proud become tigers; the formidable, wolves; and the crafty and covetous appear as little ants; in this manner they are all ravenous, grazing, flying, creeping; and this state of things is called *masakh*, "metamorphosis."

"As often as their skin is burnt we renew it with another, in order "that they may taste punishment."

"There is no kind of beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its "wings, but the same is a people like unto you. [1]

Sometimes, descending, the souls are united with vegetable bodies; and this is entitled *rasakh*, "firm-"ness."

"Under the form which thy master wills."

Sometimes they enter into mineral bodies, as for instance into metals; and this is named *fasakh*, "fracture."

"We let you grow according to your acts."

The learned Umer Khiyam says:

[1] Koran, chap. VI. v. 38.

" Endeavor to acquire praise worthy qualities: for, in the field of
" destiny,
" Thy resurrection shall be in conformity with thy qualities."

This threefold division they call " hell." The number of the stories of hell, according to the followers of the law, is seven; that of the simple elements, four; and that of the compound elements, three: altogether seven. Every soul, on leaving the elemental world, enters into one of the stories of hell. According to the *Mashâyins*, " Peripatetics," the human soul which, during its connection with the body has contracted bad habits, becomes afflicted and distressed by the impurity of such human attributes as are accounted defects of the mind: on account of the extinction of sensual pleasure which had grown into a fixed habit, the soul is bewildered, and its base customs and qualities bear manifestly upon it under the guise of a serpent, a scorpion, a burning fire, and by all the torments which are recorded in the law-book, whilst, on the contrary, the noble habits of the virtuous shine under the guise of *Huris*, *Kásurs*, sons, and youths, and in all the blessings of heaven.

Sirát, " the bridge of the last judgment," signifies nothing else but the temperature of power; as it has been established in the doctrine of Ethics: for instance, the excess of courage is temerity, a deficiency in it is cowardice; a medium between

both is valour; and, as to keep the middle tenor, is very difficult, this has been emblematized by something which is finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword, and by three arches, which indicate the due mixture of three powers, viz.: knowledge, courage, and lust. Under hell is meant elemental nature.

We shall pass to the interpretation of the gates of heaven, the number of which is eight; that of the gates of hell, seven. It is established that there are five external senses and five internal; but all of them are not apt to perceive without the assistance of inference and imagination; because it is imagination which perceives the forms, and inference completes the perception of sensible things. The two internal with the five external senses, make seven. If they attend not to the commands of reason, each of them goes for imprisonment to that hell which is under the heaven of the moon, and if they listen to these commands, they reach with the ninth rank of intelligence the eight gates of heaven for salvation and emancipation, as well as enter the Paradise which is among the heavens.

"As to him who disobeyed, and preferred the worldly life, hell shall "be his abode; and as to him who feared the being of the Lord and "refused to give up his soul to concupiscence, Paradise shall be his "abode."

Upon the angels of punishment. — It is to be known, that there are seven rulers of the world over the seven stars which revolve within the twelve signs of the zodiac; seven and twelve make nineteen, and over these nineteen rulers, that is, managers of the world, are other nineteen inspectors. In the space of the nether earth are seven powers of vegetation, viz.: that of nourishment, watering, birth, retention, attraction, mildness, and repulsion. There are twelve powers of animal life, viz.: five external, five internal senses, and two powers of movement, namely, lust and anger. Mankind, as long as they remain in prison beneath the heaven of the moon, and not severed from sensuality and its ties, is indispensably and continually subject to the impressions of the upper and nether rulers, and to sufferings; but if it rids itself of these conditions, it enjoys freedom in this and in the other world.

Nakir and *Monkir* point to our praise-worthy or blameable conduct. The body is a tomb, and so is the belly of the mother, and the interior part of the heaven of the moon.

An account of the pages of human Actions and their recorders; and of the Descent of Angels and demons to the Good and the Wicked.

Know that, of every speech or action which is

said or done, a mark is made by them; and when, in any one of them a repetition occurs, the mark becomes permanent, as it may be assimilated to what takes place in acquiring a knowledge or learning an art. As the marks of good and bad actions of mankind are determined, so every body shares accordingly pleasure or pain. Words or deeds, one by one, being revealed and described, establish conviction; so that disavowal becomes impossible. This is the office of two recorders, the one of whom stands to the right and the other to the left; whatever of one's speeches and actions is praise-worthy, this is called "angelic;" and whatever is blameable is named "satanic." This is what the prophet of Arabia said: "*From goodness arises an Angel, from "badness a Satan.*" The balance typifies the rule of justice in the retribution of conduct, so that there may not be any disparity; the basins of the balance contain the good and bad actions; if the basin of the first descends heavy, everlasting heaven is bestowed; if it ascend light, hell.

"He whose weight is heavy, shall be admitted to a delightful life; "and he whose weight is light, shall fall into hell."

Praiseworthy speeches and actions are the properties of dignity, steadfastness and peace of mind; blameable words and deeds belong to perturbation, doubt, and want of conviction; he who acquires composure and dignity of mind, obtains the grace

of God; this grace is the treasurer of paradise, who is *Razvan*, " the porter of heaven;" but doubt and perturbation are the leaders to misfortune and to disdain; and disdain is the treasurer of hell, who is called *Málik*, " the keeper of hell."

AN ACCOUNT OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS, AND OF WHAT OCCURS UPON THE EARTH OF THE LAST JUDGMENT.

It should be known, that a mountain can be the emblem of a body, which is as overgrown with wool, and the seas can signify the elements; or it may be proper to call the mountains " elements, which are " opaque," and the seas " the skies." Besides, from a mountain, bodies can be desired; as it may be the station of angels, and from the sea angels proceed. Attempting to investigate the nature of God we meet with a veil, and this veil is darkness. The only light we find is, that whoever travels over the stages of materiality and spirituality, attains rest in the seat of purity,

" Near the mighty King."

The veils of darkness are like colored wool raised up.

" The mountains shall become like carded wool of various colors " driven by the wind."[1]

[1] Koran, chap. CI. v. 4.

He lifts up the immense veil before the light, as then the contradiction, the mutual opposition, and the unsuitableness of conduct which arises from the sensuality of the body, vanish at the passing away of the body; conformity and concord, which belong to unity and harmony, manifest themselves; certainly nothing of repugnancy and no sort of apprehension remains; the poison of serpents and of scorpions is no more; the wolf associates with the sheep, the falcon with the little partridge, and confidence between those who feared each other, appears;

"When the animals will unite;"

When there is no body, there is no death. This is what the prophet declared: "On the day of resur-"rection death will be summoned and annihi-"lated;" he likewise said: "On the day of the last "judgment hell will be made visible:

"Hell manifests itself to whosoever looks."

On no other day but this, hell, as it is, can be seen; because one who is plunged in the ocean, how can he see the ocean? It is when he rises above the waves that he can distinguish them:

"A spirit appears better on the border of an expanse."

I have now given an explanation about the streams of heaven and hell; the pleasures and pains during the time of the soul's progress and regress. The running streams signify life, which the celestial com-

munity enjoys; milk is the cause of nourishment in early infancy, and is more excellent than water; because, although its use be at times salutary for all, yet, in different circumstances, it is not so for all. Rivers of milk signify rivers of knowledge for noble persons; they proceed from the origin and development of sciences, and from these rivers is derived the enjoyment of the celestial beings, whose state may be compared to that of infancy. Honey is the cause of recovery to the sick and afflicted, and is more excellent than milk, because its advantage is reserved to a certain number only; and rivers of honey in heaven are emblematical of rivers of noble sciences; and the enjoyment of the select in heaven is derived from these rivers. Wine is the cause of the removal of terror, and fear, and sadness; and is more excellent than honey, because it is prohibited to the people of the world, and permitted and legal to the inhabitants of heaven; and it is a purifying draught of the water of Paradise:

"Their lord made them drink a purifying beverage."

And rivers of wine in heaven signify rivers of knowledge, for the nobles, among noble personages, and their enjoyment in heaven is derived from these rivers:

"There will be rivers of limpid water, and rivers of milk,
"The savor of which shall not be altered; rivers of wine
"Will be a delight to those who drink of them;
"And there will be rivers of purified honey."

For the inhabitants of hell are four rivers, in opposition to those in heaven; they are called "that of "heat; that of water, blood, and matter; that of "liquid pitch: and that of poison;" that is to say: death, ignorance, simple ignorance, and compound ignorance; for it is said:

"These are the similes which we propose to men; the wise only understand their explanation."

Account of the tree *TUBA*, which is in heaven, and the tree *ZAKUM*, which is in hell.

It is to be known that *Túba*[1] is a celestial tree which sends branches into every corner of heaven; and this is an emblem of the tree of wisdom, from which branches extend to every corner—to any body, whether it be elemental or imaginary; that is to say, to every mind which is illumed and warmed by a ray of the sun of wisdom; it is by this light that his speech and conduct answer the exigency of

[1] *Tu'ba*, says Herbelot, according to the Commentators of the Koran, is a word derived from the Ethiopian language, and means properly "eternal beatitude." The Tuba, as the heavenly lotos tree, or tree of life, occurs in all mythologies, in the Chinese, Indian, Persian, Egyptian, and Scandinavian. This tree is represented upon the coffin of a mummy which exists in the imperial cabinet of Vienna; a deity pours out from its branches the paradisiacal fountain, which, according to the Muhammedans, issues from the roots of the tree of life.—(See *The Mines of Orient*, vol. V.)

wisdom, and that he considers well the end of his actions; so that he has never to repent of any one of his words or deeds, which is a sign of knowledge.

The tree *zakúm*,[1] represents the tree of nature, a branch of which extends to every corner, that is to say, whatever power a man (actuated by it) exerts, he never considers the end of the action which he does, and has therefore always to repent of his words and deeds, which is a sign of ignorance.

As to an explanation about the Har and Kas'ur, it is to be known that both names relate to secrets of hidden things and sciences, which are concealed from the eyes of the profane by a veil, or by the pavilions of sublimity:

"The Hur and Kasur are concealed in the pavilions."

The hand of men with an elegant and fanciful conception has never reached, nor shall ever reach, them.

"Nobody has ever touched them before, neither men nor genii."

For these Hur and Kas'ur belong to men endowed with sanctity and truth; as often as these perfect personages approach them, they find also virgins, and enjoy each time a pleasure such as they never

[1] This tree is imagined to spring from the bottom of hell. There is a thorny tree, called *zaku'm*, which grows in Tahâma, and bears fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter; and therefore the same name is given to this infernal tree.—(See Sale's *Koran*, pp. 104, 310.)

had before; because each time they meet with the beginning of a new meaning, finer than the former, although they obtain these objects before their death.

It has been stated by some sages that, when they were intent upon some high undertaking, they declared after its conclusion: "How can empe- "rors and their sons enjoy such a happiness, "which is still to be increased when all impedi- "ments will be removed." Know, men attached to exterior evidence said, that whatever is commonly believed of the last judgment, and what is connected with the soul of the world, implies nothing else but that, from the time when the Almighty God brought forth out of nothingness into existence, the heavens, the stars, the material bodies, the three kingdoms of nature, and the essences, the duration of the world shall extend to that period when he will again plunge the whole into non-existence, and this shall be "the other world."

The learned say besides, that the composition of the human body, and its conjunction with the soul, make but one period of time, although birth and life appear two distinct periods; the one comprising the sensible and perceptible world, the other the rational and intellectual world: for

"Whoever is not born twice, shall not enter at the same time into the "kingdom of heaven and that of the earth." [1]

[1] This seems an incorrect quotation from St. John's Gospel, chapter III.

This is the speech of the Lord Jesus, and with him the present and the future world have also a twofold signification, also both a particular and a common one. As to the particular—there is something external and internal in every one; body and soul in every one; this is his present and future world. As to the common signification—there is an external and an internal world, that is, the material world is the present, and the future is the internal world. As to what is stated in the ostensible law, that the earth has seven stories and the heaven also seven, the interpretation of this is, that the earth is divided into seven regions, whence is concluded that the heaven also is divided into seven, separate from which they account the *Kersi* or *Arsh*, that is the ninth heaven. As to what is said, that on the day of resurrection the heaven will be folded together,

"On the day on which we shall fold the heavens, as the angel folds "the book (of good and bad actions of men), we shall replace them as "they were formed at the beginning of the creation. The heavens will "then be folded by his grace, power, and strength,"

verse 3, which is as follows: "Jesus answered and said unto him (Nicodemus): Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he "cannot see the kingdom of God."—Further, v. 5: "Verily, verily, I "say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot "enter into the kingdom of God."—V. 6: That which is born of the "flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit."—V. 7: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, you must be born again."—V. 8: The "wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, "but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every "one that is born of the spirit."

And the earth changed into another.

"One day we shall change this earth into another earth."

And after this change the earth and heaven will be annihilated; the earth will be like pure silver, and upon this earth no sin whatever will be committed: in all this, the day of resurrection, heaven, and hell are rendered present. As to what is asserted that this earth will be changed into another—the Orientals say, this is meant to relate to a vision which is called the region of symbolic truth. And the rendering present heaven and hell; this also refers to an attribution of good and bad. Whoever assumes the form of Hur or Kásur, serpent or scorpion, is rendered happy or miserable. As to the transmutation of the earth—this needs no interpretation: what wonder is it that the culture of a region passes into that of another country; and the passage from the region of the sensible into that of allegory is evident in the transformation of the folded heavens. It has also been maintained that "the book of God" is one thing, and "the word of God" another: because the word is derived from the world[1] of commands, which has its purport from the invisible and rational world; whilst the book is from the world of creatures; that is, the material world; the

[1] The word *ádlem*, "world," has here (as it occurs with the corresponding Sanskrit word *loka*) the meaning of state, "condition."

word, when written down, becomes a book; a command which is brought to pass becomes an action; and this is, with these believers, the meaning of the words: *Run fa yakun.*

" (God said) ' Let it be,' and it was."

The world of command is devoid of contradiction and multiplicity; it is pure in its essence; butthe world of creatures contains contradiction and multiplicity, and no atom of all atoms of beings is out of the material world.

" There is nothing fresh or dry but in the true book (the Koran)."

Besides, the world of forms and of perceptible things is to be considered as the book of God, and every thing as a *Surah*, " a chapter," of the Surahs of this book; the alternation of days and nights, the changes and alterations in the horizon and in the phenomena are the vowel points of this book; the days and nights of this book, Surah after Surah, verse after verse, letter after letter, follow each other, as in writing the lines are read in succession; thus thou proceedest, from line to line and from letter to letter, until thou findest the meaning which is hidden in the subject of the words and expressions, until thou knowest and renderest evident to thyself the purport of the book:

" We shall show our verses (of the Koran) in the horizon (every where), " and in their souls, until it become evident to them that it is the " truth."

And when thou understandest the book and hast satisfied thy desire, certainly the book is then closed and put out of thy hand.

"On the day on which we shall fold the heavens, as the angel folds "the book—the heavens will then be folded by his grace, power, and "strength."

And it was said, "On the right hand," that it may be manifest, that those who are at the left can have no share in the possession of heaven.

The change of the earth is thus interpreted, that mankind has two states: at first a terrestrial body and a heavenly nature, subject to the dictates of passion and of lust; and in this state all creatures are in the troubles of imagination, and pride, and conceitedness. Then takes place the first blast of the trumpet for the sake of rest, in order that the terrestrial, who are subject to the qualities of the body, and the celestial, who possess those of a higher nature, may both of them become dead to the troubles of imagination, pride, and conceitedness, unless a few of the qualities of the former state remain alive; as this, on account of these very qualities, may be indispensable by the power of necessity.

"And the trumpet was blown, and all the beings who were in heaven "and upon earth were troubled, except those whom God willed (that "they should not)."

The second blast of the trumpet will be for recalling all men to life, so that the terrestrial, who are

endowed with the qualities of nature, may resuscitate from the death of ignorance and the sleep of heedlessness, and rise up; that they may avert their face from material objects and bodily pleasures, which are understood under the name "world," and devote themselves to reasonable pursuits and spiritual enjoyments, which are essential, so as to know every thing in its real nature: which is

"Then the trumpet shall be blown, and instantly they shall resusci-
"tate, and see."

In this state, the body, world, and the nature of reason and law, are broken.

"The earth was illumed by the light of his Lord; he placed the books,
"and he brought the prophets and the witnesses."

Then the earth of darkness shall be changed into the world of light, and the heaven of nature into the sphere of spirits:

"On the day on which the earth shall be changed for another earth,
"as well as the heavens; and it shall then be known that there is but
"one God, the Almighty."

The obscuration of the stars, and the extinction of the sun's and the moon's light are interpreted, that the stars signify the external and internal senses, each of which is in its corresponding sign in heaven; the spirit of animals and the light of the moon are referred to the light of the soul; as the human soul has in fact no light of its own, but solicits an abundant loan of it from the sun of reason, and

diffuses it according to its own deficiency. It is said, that when the human soul manifests itself, then sensuality remains out of its action;

"When the stars shall be obscured;"

And when the light of reason breaks forth, then the human soul also is dismissed from its action, and when the benefitted unites with the benefactor, then an incomparable form shows its face;

"He reunited the sun and the moon;"

And when the light of God shines forth, that is, when "knowledge is infused," which is equivalent to revelation, manifesting itself, then reason and sight are removed from the action, which they call

"When the sun shall be folded up."[1]

There are fifty stations in the field of judgment:

"Present is the Creator and the master;
"At every station another question;
"Whoever gives his answer with justness
"Shall reach his station with rapidity."

The stations are in their order as follows: five external and five internal senses; seven powers of passion and lust; three spirits of nature, that is, of minerals, vegetables, and animals; four humors; three kingdoms of nature; four elements; eight temperatures; seven forms of imagination; the other four will be stated on another occasion.

[1] Koran, chap. LXXXI. v. 1.

The book of God signifies knowledge. As to the last judgment and the resurrection of bodies, intelligent men said, that each atom of the atoms of a human body, which are dispersed, will be all collected on the day of resurrection, and restored to life, and at this hour there will be no question put about any thing done, but what is come to us from the prophets and saints, this we must believe. The learned say besides, that the question is here about the soul, which on the day of resurrection returns (to its origin), and this substance is pure, and does not require to be suitable to any dimension, color, or place, but is independent of all these, and on that account fit for sciences and knowledge of all things; its extreme excellence is to be able to collect for review all things from the first origin to the last extremity, and to know that whenever it attains that degree of perfection, it has returned to the place of its origin; and this is the knowledge of purity, which is remote from the defilement and mixture of what is material. The learned assert besides, that *the night of power*, "the night on which "the Koran was sent down," refers to the beginning, and the day of resurrection to the place to which one returns; because the nature of night is to conceal things of which few may have information, and the nature of day is to bring to view things of which all may take notice. Further,

the whole of the notions and powers of primitive creation is contained in the knowledge of God, who is understood under the name of "primitive, per-" manent, and predestinator." Every body possesses not this knowledge; it was then on account of the belief that the predestinations were concealed in it, that "the night of power" was said to be "primitive," and as in the place to which one returns (that is at the resurrection) every thing concealed shall become manifest, and every one be informed of it, on account of this belief, this place was referred to "day." As on this day, all are to rise from the tomb of the body, and to awake from the sleep of heedlessness, it was called "the resurrec-" tion."

According to the learned, Kâbah (the square temple at Mecca) is an emblem of the sun, on which account it is right to worship it; and the well *Zem zem*[1] signifies likewise "the great luminary," as *Hakim Khákání* said relatively to both:

"O Kâbah, thou traveller of the heaven!
"O Zem zem, thou fire of the world!"

Hajer ul ásvad, "the black stone at Mecca," represents the body of Venus, which on the border of the heavens is a star of the planets. Some have interpreted the resurrection of the bodies in the sense of the learned, who referred it to the revolution of the

[1] A well at Mecca, see this vol., p. 14-15, note 1.

heavens, and to the influences of the stars upon the terrestrial globe.

" Every external form of things, and every object which disappeared,
" Remains stored up in the storehouse of fate;
" When the system of the heavens returns to its former order,
" God, the All-Just, will bring them forth from the veil of mystery."

Another poet says:

" When the motion of the heavens in three hundred and sixty thousand
" years,
" Shall have described a minute about its centre,
" Then shall be manifest what had been manifest before,
" Without any divergence to the right or to the left."

The great revolution with them, according to the word of *Berzasp*, the disciple of Tahamúers, is of three hundred and sixty thousand solar years: that is, as the motions of the heavens take place in a circle, their positions are necessarily determined; when, according to that revolution, the positions of the heavens manifest themselves so that from the contiguities, the *adwár* and *ikwár*,[1] " the cycles," the *zatk* and *fatk*, " the shutting and opening," from the conjunctions of the whole and from the unions, all parts of the phenomena show the very same necessarily determined position, in its reality without increase and decrease. In the books of the Persian

[1] ادوار و اکوار are the cycles or revolutions of years, according to which the astrologers pretend to prognosticate the accidents of human life. Every *adwar* consists of 360 solar years, and the *ikwár* of 120 lunar years; the whole art consists in finding the combination of these years, and their respective relations.

sages is stated that, as the motions of the heavens are circular, certainly the compasses return to the same point from which the circumference began to be drawn, and when at a second revolution the compasses run over the same line upon which the former circumference was drawn, undoubtedly, whatsoever has been granted in the former circumference, shall be granted again; as there is no disparity between two circumferences, there will be no disparity between their traces; because the phenomena, having returned to that order in which they were found in the beginning, the stars and heavens, having made their revolution about the former centre, the distances, contiguities, appearances, and relations having in no aspect been contrary to the former aspects, certainly the influences which manifested themselves from yonder origin shall in no manner be different.

This is called in Persian *mahín cherkh*, "the great "circle;" and in Arabic *dawrah-i kabra*.

Fárábi[1] says: the vulgar form to their own sight

Abu' Nas'r Muhammed Ebn Turkhan al Fa'ra'bi', a native of *Farab*, a town situated on the occidental confines of Turkestan, afterwards called *Otrar*. He is esteemed as the greatest philosopher among the Muselmans, and at the same time the most detached from the world. To him is attributed the translation of Aristotle's Analytics, under the title of *Anoluthica*. Avisenna confessed to have derived all his science from him. Ghazali counts Fárábi and Avisenna among the philosophers who believed the eternity of the world, but not without a first mover, which doctrine is believed by the Muselmans to be atheistical. Fárábi died in

their belief according to the shape of their imagination, and will continue to form it so, and the place of their imaginations will be a body of the heavenly bodies. The venerable Shaikh Maktul tends to establish in his demonstrations, that the heavenly bodies are places of imaginations of the inhabitants of heaven, and that beneath the heaven of the moon, and above the globe of fire is a spherical body, without motion, and this is the place of the imaginations of the inhabitants of hell.

It is to be known, that this sect hold the world to be eternal, and say that, as the sun's light is to the heaven, so is the world to God. Nothing was that had not been, and nothing will be that is not. Further, according to the expounders of theological law, the world is a phenomenon of time. The philosophers assert, the meaning of that phenomenon is "procreation;" and the phenomenon of procreation is not contradictory to "permanency;" infinite permanency coalesces with time.

the year of the Hejira 339 (A. D. 950), according to Ebn Chal and Abulfeda, quoted by Pococke (p. 372); according to Herbelot in Hejira 343 A. D. 954).

Section II.—Of the Reputation and the Truth of the prophetic Dignity.

Know that, when individuals of mankind want to associate in the concerns of life, they find it indispensable to have recourse to customs, regulations, and religious faith, in order that they may be concordant, and that oppression may be excluded from their transactions and associations, and the order of the world preserved. It is requisite to refer the customs and regulations to God, and to proclaim that they proceed from God, in order that all may adopt them. On that account the necessity of theology and of a prophetic mission became evident, in order that the institutes for the government of the creatures may be established, and, by means of mildness and severity, men might be induced to be concordant, and the different conditions of the world arranged. And such an institutor is named "illustrious sage;" his precepts are likewise celebrated; among the eminent moderns, his title is that of "prophet," or "legislator," and that of his precepts "the law." But his deputy, who is a judge, ought to be a person distinguished by divine grace, that he may promote the instruction and arrange the affairs of mankind; such a man is called by the wise "an universal ruler," and his precepts are entitled "the practice of the empire;" the mo-

derns gave him the name of *Imám*, and to his precepts that of *Imámet*. The unusual customs, which are called *mâjazât*,[1] "miracles," and *kirámát*, "prodigies,"[2] have been submitted to investigations from which it results that the vital spirit, or soul, is the cause of the accidents which are manifested in our body, such as anger and violent emotion. It may be that the vitality attains such a force in every

[1] معجزة, *mâjezet*, is an extraordinary thing, operated by prophets for the confirmation of their prophecy.

[2] كرامة, *kerá'met*, signifies a prodigy, or sign, manifested by any pious person without his claiming prophetic dignity. — (See Pococke, *Specim. Hist. Arab.*, p. 186. 1st edit.)

The Asiatic Doctors admit that extraordinary things may be operated by men who pretend to be *deities*, *prophets*, *Valis* (Saints, of whom more hereafter), and *magicians*, who are supposed to command demons. Thus they quote Pharaoh, who arrogated divinity to himself, and performed miracles, and thus it shall be with the Antichrist. Celestial favors granted to Valis are believed by the orthodox Muhammedans, upon the strength of the Koran and authentic traditions. To these are added innumerable tales accredited among the superstitious, some of which are ingeniously combined with a moral lesson. Jâmi, in his *Lives of Sufis*, quotes the following words of another illustrious personage, whom he does not name: "The principle on which all is comprised is, that, when a man performs "an extraordinary action, renouncing something which other men are "wont to do, or which he himself was wont to do, God also, on his "part, by a sort of compensation, changes, in that man's favor, some-"thing in the ordinary course of nature. It is that which the vulgar call "*Kera'met*. But distinguished men understand by this word the divine "favor which gave a man aid and force to renounce the things to which "he was accustomed. This is what we understand by *Kera'met*. This explanation differs from that given above. The whole doctrine relative to this subject is united with that of Sufism, which is hereafter to be developed.—(See *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. XII. pp. 387-369.)

manner, that its relation to this world of depravity becomes of that nature as is our relation to our own bodies: then its desire proves the cause of the accidents; it brings about what it wishes in this world. On that account, all the learned agree on this point, that, in every respect, the soul is of an extreme ingenuity and sagacity, so that, of whatsoever kind the knowledge may be to which it turns its attention, it renders itself master in one day of the whole science, and the power of its memory is such, that it recollects whatever it has heard but once, and, to whatsoever object it directs its look, the soul will give an account of it, of the past as well as of the present. Another power of the soul is to know, either in a dream or by *ilhám*, "inspiration,"[1] an event before it takes place. A further power of the soul is, to discover the purport of whatever it sees. All this together is the attribute of the soul. When, on account of pious austerity and struggles in the cause of God, one's sensual spirit is kept in due temperature, it becomes like an essence of heaven, and

[1] الهام, *ilham*, means what is thrown in a man's mind by way of *emanation*, or with the exclusion of diabolical suggestions; that is, not by way of thought and reflection. It is also explained, a knowledge which rises in a man's heart and excites him to action without his demanding a a prodigy, or the investigation of a proof for believing the truth of what is so revealed to him.—(See *Definitions of Jorja'ni, Ext. et Not. des MSS.*, vol. X. pp. 76–77.)

his rational soul borrows as much as possible from the heavenly spirit, in the same manner as a polished mirror receives the image from a painted surface. Whatever comes forth from the rational soul in the way of generality, of that the rational soul gives an account by means of images in the way of particularity, and brings it home to common sense by way of allegories. And when comprehended by common sense, it becomes evident, and there is no difference between what comes to common sense from the exterior or from the interior; on which very account some have entitled it the *common* sense, as being sensible from both sides. Further, he whose constitution is better tempered, and whose power of imagination and common sense is brighter, he, after being freed from worldly dependencies, will possess a righter fore-knowledge, such as that in sleep: for sleep also is suitable to prescience, and the revelation of some prophets was received during sleep.

Upon the meaning of Revelation and Inspiration.

Some of the novices who feel themselves in this state, comprehend at once something which they did not understand before; they suppose they are

as if hearing something from within, and this they call " a voice from an invisible speaker." It has been said that, in miracles and supernatural events, there is no doubt of our spirit being the phenomenon which manifests itself in the human body from mental excitement and exultation; then it may happen that the spirit receives such a force and perfection, that its relation to the world of corruption be like our relation to the body whence its desire may be the mover in this exterior world.

There is another wonderful science and property of things. The lord Shaikh Abu Alí[1] says in his book, " the Ascent to Heaven:" All the spirits are subject to more perfect intelligences, except " the " Holy Ghost," who is the mediator between the self-existing Being and the first intelligences, and this is " the command;" and the word of God means " the revelation," which the Holy Ghost makes by the intervention of perfect intelligences, and which is manifested by the prophetic spirit; whence, whatever is the speech of the prophet, all is the expression of the word of God, and his word is futile by itself, and the name of holiness comes from God alone.

[1] Avisenna. (See, upon this celebrated personage, vol. II. pp. 168-175.) He and Al Fárábi, before-mentioned (p. 170, note 1) are, according to the concurring opinions of the Arabs, the most distinguished chiefs of the Arabian philosophers, properly so called. The logic of Avisenna has been translated by Vattier, 1658.

Upon the Interpretation of the Miracles of the Prophet.

The learned possess a great number of versions on this subject, but the best of all interpretations is that of the lord raís, the wise Abu Alí Síná, who declares: "So said the prophet of God, Muhammed, the selected (peace be upon him):[1] "One night I "slept in the house of my father's sister;[2] it was a "night of thunder and lightning; no animal uttered "a sound; no bird was singing; no man was awake; "and I slept not, but was suspended between sleep

[1] The ascent of Muhammed to Heaven has been mentioned (vol. II. p. 339). The prophet gave no explicit account of it in the Koran, yet traditions of what he himself had related of it, although not without various versions, are preserved, and believed with equal faith as the verses of the sacred book themselves, in which frequent allusions occur to the circumstances and events of which Muhammed's voyage to Heaven is composed. These, indeed, however absurd they may appear to unbelievers, contain the fundamentals of the Muhammedan mysticism. On account of this importance, I shall add to the notice given above, by Avisenna, some particulars contained in the narration published from original sources by the Baron of Hammer Purgstal *Gemäldesaal moslimischer. Heersher. IIIter Band.* 1837, *Seite* 81, *etc.*)

[2] Muhammed was sleeping in the house of Omm Hani, the daughter of Abu Thaleb, in the sanctuary of the Kâba, when Jabrîl awakened him; the angel called Mikail to bring him a cup full of water from the sacred well Zemzem (see vol. III. pp. 14-15. note 1). Jabrîl cleft Muhammed's breast, drew his heart out, washed it, and, with three cups from the sacred fountain, infused into him faith, knowledge, and wisdom. He then conducted him out of the sanctuary to a place between Safa and Merva, where he made the prophet bestride Borak (see vol. II. p. 339), which, as the Angel said, was mounted by Abraham.

" and waking: the secret meaning of this might " have been, that it was a long while before I became " desirous of understanding the divine truth. Under " the shield of the night, men enjoy greater free- " dom, as the occupations of the body and the de- " pendence of the senses are broken. A sudden " night fell then, and I was still between sleep and " waking; that is, between reason and sensuality. " I fell into the sea of knowledge; and it was a night " with thunder and lightning, that is, the seven " upper agents prevailed, so that the power of hu- " man courage and the power of imagination sunk " from their operation, and inactivity manifested its " ascendancy over activity. And lo! Jabríil came " down in a beautiful form, with much pomp, splen- " dor, and magnificence, so that the house became " illuminated; that is, the power of the holy spirit " came upon me in the form of the command, and " made such an impression upon me, that all the " powers of the rational soul were renewed and " enlightened by it. And what the prophet said in the description of Jabríil, " to have seen him " whiter than snow, with a lovely face, black hair, " and on his forehead the inscription: ' There is no " ' God but one God;' the light of his eyes charm- " ing, the eyebrows fine, having seventy thousand " curls twisted of red rubies, and six hundred thou- " sand pearls of a fine water," that is, he possessed

so many beauties in the eyes of pure reason, that if an impression of these beauties was made upon a sense, it was able to perceive those which have been described, and the purport of the words: "there is no God but one God," appeared in a determined light: that is he whose eyes fall upon his perfections is removed from the darkness of infidelity, and doubt, and worldly connection; and in such a manner he feels himself fortified in the certitude of the Creator, and attains such a degree of virtue, that hereafter, upon whatsoever creature he looks, his faith in God's unity will be enhanced by it. And such were the charms of the angel that, if one possessed seventy thousand curls, he would not attain to his beauty; and such was his rapidity, that thou wouldst have said, he was flying with six hundred wings and arms, so that his progress knew neither space nor time." "What he said came upon me, and he took me to "his bosom, and gave me kisses between the eyes, "and said: 'O thou sleeper, how long sleepest "'thou? rise!' That is, when the power of holi- "ness came upon me, it caressed me, opened the "road of its revelation, and exalted me; a certain "delight which I cannot describe diffused itself in "my heart, and transported me to devotion. The "angel then continued: 'How long sleepest thou?' "that is 'why indulgest thou in the delusions of

" falsehood? thou art attached to the world, and,
" as long as thou remainest in it, and before thou
" awakest, knowledge cannot be obtained; but I,
" from compassion towards thee, shall be thy
" guide on the road. Rise.' I trembled at his
" words, and from fear jumped up from my place:
" that is, from timid respect for him no reflection
" remained in my heart and mind. He further said:
" Be calm, I am thy brother, Jabríil;' thus, by his
" kindness and revelation, my terror was appeased.
" But he unfolded more of his mysteries, so that
" fear returned upon me. I then said: ' O bro-
" ' ther, I feel the hand of an enemy.' He replied:
" ' I shall not deliver thee into the hand of an ene-
" ' my.' I asked: ' Into whose?' He answered:
" ' Rise, and be glad, and keep thy heart within
" ' thyself:' that is, preserve thy memory clear,
" and show obedience to me, until I shall have
" have removed the difficulties before thee. And
" as he spoke I became entranced and transport-
" ed, and I proceeded on the footsteps of Jabríil;
" that is, I forsook the sensual world, and by the
" aid of natural reason I followed the footsteps of
" holy grace." What the prophet said: " I saw
" Borák upon the footsteps of Jabríil," signifies, the practical reason which triumphs by means of the power of sanctity, and by its assistance gains the ascendancy over this world of corruption: for

from the heavenly intelligences proceeds practical reason, which is the supreme king and assistant of the soul, at any time when it may be required. It is to be compared to Borak for this reason, because it was the illuminator of the night, and the vehicle of the protector, who on that journey wanted it: on that account the prophet called it *Borák*. And as to what he further said: "It was greater than an ass "and smaller than a horse;" this means, it was greater than human reason, but smaller than the first intelligence. And "Borak's face was like that "of a man," signifies, he had a propensity for human order and much kindness for men, as a family by its manner and likeness among men has a bearing to kindness and arrangement. What the prophet stated of "a long hand and long foot," means that his benefit extends to all places, and that his bounty keeps all things new. What he stated: "I "wanted to mount Borák, but he resisted until "Jabríil gave assistance; then he became obedient "to me;" this implies, I was under the influence of the corporeal world; I desired to associate with reason; but this was refused until the power of sanctity washed off by a bath the entanglement of ignorance and the hinderances of the body, so that I became pure, and by such means attained the bounty and advantage of practical reason.

What the prophet further said: "When I pro-

" ceeded on the way,[1] and had left the mountains " of Mecca, I saw a wanderer following my steps, " who called out: ' Stop!' But Jabríil said: ' Hold " ' no conversation; go on.' I went on." By this the power of the imgination is indicated; that is: when I became free of the sight of my limbs and every thing belonging to me, and yielding no more to sensuality, and thus proceeded, the power of imagination, upon my steps, called out to me to stop; for the power of imagination is dextrous, and certainly is great, exerting itself in all affairs, and serves in lieu of intellect to all animals; but it is not right to allow imagination too much liberty, because it then descends to an equality with animals, and disorders its noble nature; further, whoever is assisted by the grace of God, follows not, on all occasions, the imagination. As to what the prophet said: " Behind me called out a woman, deceitful " and beauteous: ' Stop until I join thee!' Jabríil " also said: ' Go on, and beware of stopping:' " this means the power of imagination, which is deceitful and bedecked, resembling a woman, to whom most natures are inclined, and who keeps men in her bondage; besides, whatever she does, is all art,

[1] The ride proceeded to Jerusalem; a troop of Angels surrounded them on all sides. On the way Muhammed was called to successively by two men, the one of whom was a Jew, the other a Christian, and by a seductive female; the prophet did not stop at the voice of either.

without foundation, and contaminated by fraud and deception; nay, the very business of women is artifice and fiction: the power of imagination is not otherwise seductive. To continue: the lies and false promises of women being so many lures, they render mankind their slaves with their show, and never keep their faith; so that all they affect turns out to be futile. Thus, when a man follows the steps of imagination, he never attains true intelligence, as he always remains upon the track of outward ornament and in the bondage of corporeal appearance, without reality.

" And as to what the prophet stated: When I " went on, Jabríil said: ' If thou hadst waited until " ' she had joined thee, thou wouldst have become " ' a friend of the world;' " this means: that worldly affairs are without reality, brittle and soon decaying, and that worldly occupations have a value but in conjunction with the views of a future state; inasmuch as occurrences and appearances are a deception, and are esteemed as adjuncts to the secrets of a high intelligence; and whoever devotes himself to the former rests behind the higher intelligences, and, in the illusion of vanity, rests imprisoned in the pitfall of ignorance.

And what Muhammed said: " When I left the " mountains and these two persons behind me, I " went on until I reached the house of sanctity

" (*Jerusalem*); and as I entered it, a person came to " me, and gave me three cups—the one of wine, " the second of water, and the other of milk. I " wished to take that of wine, but Jabríil forbade it, " and pointed to that of milk, which I took and " drank:" the meaning of this is: When I freed myself from sensuality, and knew the state of imagination and deception, and resolved in myself to enter the world of spirits, then I saw three spirits in the house of sanctity—the one was that of animal life, the second that of nature, and the other that of rationality. I wished to proceed on the footsteps of brutishness, and compared it to wine, the power of which is seducing, clouding, and ignorance-increasing, like passion and lust, and wine is the darkener of the two other powers. And he compared nature to water, because from it is derived the support and stability of a person, and man depends upon the temperament of the agents which act in the body;[1] water is also the vital strength of ani-

[1] This obscure passage appears to allude to a glose found in the Desátir, English transl., p. 183. After having said that there are four elements, the Commentator subjoins: " The water is of the shape of a " ball, the half of which being broken, is filled with water, so that the " water and earth together compose one ball. And as the elements " penetrate into and affect each other, a sort of middle nature is pro- " duced, which is called *constitution* or *temperament*. If a body that " is united with a temperament has the probability of subsisting for a " protracted time, and of retaining its compound substance, it is called " ' permanent,' or ' perfect;' if not, ' imperfect,' or ' wanting perma-

mals, and the promoter of growth and increase. And the rational spirit he compared to milk, as being a salutary and agreeable nourishment, and promoting welfare. And as to what he said: "I "wished to take the wine; but he forbade it, that "I might take the milk:" is in allusion to most men, who, being badly disposed, do not desist from obsequiousness to two spirits, those of nature and brutishness; and whoever is badly disposed demands what is material, and the pleasure and enjoyment of these two spirits are of this kind.

"The Prophet said farther: When I arrived "there I entered the mosque, and the crier called "to prayer; and I stepped forward, I saw an assem- "bly of prophets and angels standing to the right "and the left; every one saluted me, and made a "new covenant with me."[1] This means: When I became freed from all converse and concern with brutishness and nature, I entered the mosque, that is, I retired into the inmost of the soul; by "crier of

"'nence.'"—Lower down: "And there can be no temperament so "equalised that the elements in it should be exactly of the same quan- "tity and mode. And in proportion as a temperament more nearly "approaches equality, the soul bestowed on it by the Originator of being "is more perfect."

[1] In the temple of Jerusalem, Muhammed was saluted by choirs of angels and prophets, as the first of interceders before God, the last of prophets, and as one who will assemble the people on the day of judgment.

" the mosque" is understood the power of remembering and praising God; by " one's Imám," meditation; and " the angels" mean the powers of the inmost soul, such as abstraction, memory, praise of God, and the like. Further, " saluting them" refers to the comprehending of all the mental powers. Thus, when one wishes to mount up to the terrace of a house, he must first have a staircase by which he may, step after step, ascend, until he attains the summit of the terrace; in like manner also are these refined powers to be considered as ladder-steps, upon which, the one after the other, a man ascends until he arrives at his aim.

" And what the prophet said: When I became " free, I raised my face upwards, and I found a " ladder, one step of which was of silver and the " other of gold:"[1] this means, from the external to the internal sense; " gold" and " silver" denote the superior value of the one over the other.[2]

[1] From the temple, the prophet was conducted by Jabríll to the rock upon which Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son Isaac. From them rose a ladder to heaven; not only were the steps alternately of gold and silver, but also, on one side shone edifices of emerald, and on the other palaces of ruby.

[2] Here Jabríll took Muhammed upon his wings and flew with him to the gate of Paradise, which was guarded by a legion of Angels. In the first heaven he saluted Adam, who sat between two gates, and was looking now to the right, now to the left; when to the right, he laughed, when to the left, he wept; for the right hand led to heaven, the left to hell: the first father's joy or sadness followed his children going to either side.

" And what he said: I arrived at the heaven of " the universe; the gates yielded and I entered. " There I saw Ismâíl seated upon a throne, and a " crowd before him, with their eyes fixed upon his " face. I made my salute, looked at him, and went " on." By " heaven," is understood the moon; by " Ismâíl," the body of the moon; and by " the " crowd," those whose conditions are under the influence of the moon.

" What Muhammed said: I entered the second " heaven;[1] there I saw an Angel excelling all others; " by his perfect beauty, he captivated the admira- " tion of the whole creation; one half of his body " was of ice and the other half of fire; and yet there " was no counteraction nor enmity between them. " He saluted me, and said: ' Be welcome! All " ' things and riches are thine.' " This means: it was the heaven of Mercury; and the import of this is, that every star has a determined influence, either auspicious or inauspicious; but Mercury acts in both ways; with an inauspicious connection inauspiciously, with an auspicious one auspiciously; so that one half is good and the other half bad." The " welcome," and the gift of " prosperity and riches," mean: the power of the mind, and the multiplicity of sciences which the star bestows."

[1] In the second heaven, Muhammed saw Jesus and St. John at his side. They returned his salute.

What the prophet said: "When I arrived into "the third heaven,[1] I there saw an Angel, equal to "whom in excellence and beauty I had seen none; "placid and joyful, he was seated upon a throne; "and a circle of angelic effulgency was diffused "about him." This was the heaven of Venus, and it is not necessary to comment its beauty: it denotes gladness and festivity."

Further: "When I entered the fourth heaven,[2] "I there saw an Angel, surrounded with royal pomp, "seated upon a throne of light; I made my obei- "sance, to which he replied with entire haughti- "ness, and, from pride and majesty, he bestowed "neither word nor smile upon any body about "him. When he answered my salute, he said: "'O Muhammed, I see all things and riches in "'thee: glory and happiness to thee.'" That is, "the fourth heaven," the residence of "this angel," means the sun;" he represents the conditions of kings and great personages; his "smile" is his influence upon good fortune;" and his "congratulation" signifies his bounty for any body's prosperity.

"In continuation: When I arrived at, and entered, "the fifth heaven,[3] I happened to have a view of "hell; and I saw a black region, and, on its bor-

[1] In the third heaven was Joseph, the ideal of beauty.

[2] In the fourth heaven was Idris (Enoch).

[3] In the fifth heaven resided Aaron.

" ders was seated a terrific and dark Angel, who " was engaged in the business of punishing bad " men." That is " the fifth heaven, with its angel," signifies " Mars;" this planet denotes the state of criminals and of blood-shedding men; and by "hell" is understood any account and description of the conditions which are appropriated to them.

" Moreover, When I entered the sixth heaven,[1] I " saw an angel sitting upon a throne of light, occu- " pied with counting his prayers by beads, and with " uttering benedictions; he had wings, and curls " set with jewels, pearls, and rubies. I bowed be- " fore him, to which he returned blessings and " congratulations, and wishes of joy and prosperity, " and said: 'I give thee perpetual blessing.'" That is, " the sixth heaven," and " its angel," signifies " Jupiter;" and he relates to persons of rectitude, abstinence and knowledge; his " wings and curls" signify his light and rays; and his " blessings," his auspicious influence; for he bestows great felicity, and all sorts of good prooceed from him."

" To proceed: When I attained the seventh hea- " ven,[2] I saw an angel seated upon a throne of red " rubies; not every one had access to him, but he " who approached him found a kind treatment. I

[1] In the sixth heaven appeared Moses.

[2] In the seventh heaven, Muhammed saluted Abraham, as he saluted the holy persons before-named, who returned his salute.

" made my reverence, and he returned an answer " by blessing me." This is understood to be " the " seventh heaven, and " that angel" was Saturn. He is averse to greatness; but, whatever impression he makes is perfect and entire; and when he shows favor it is greater than any other; " every one can- " not approach him:" that is, it happens seldom that one falls in with a fortunate situation, but, if it occurs, the happy result is such as to surpass all others.

" In sequel: When I proceeded,[1] I arrived at the " heavenly mansion of the angel Jabríil; I saw a " world full of light and splendor, and such was " the effulgency that my eyes were dazzled. To " the right or left, to whatever side I turned my " looks, they met with angelic spirits, engaged in " devotion. I said: 'O Jabríil, who are this class " ' of beings?' He answered: ' these know of no " ' other fixed business but praying, counting their " ' beads, and visiting churches.' "

[1] Jabríil then conducted Muhammed to his own usual residence. There was the heavenly lotus tree (the tree of knowledge), around which a divine light was diffused, and legions of angels were ranged. Beneath the roots of the tree four sources were flowing: the first, *Kawser*, spirituous, like wine; the second, *Selsebil*, sweet, like clarified honey; the third, *the source of mildness*, like the purest milk; and the fourth, *the source of mercy*, like liquid crystal. Jabríil offered to the prophet three cups, made of diamond, saphir, and ruby; the first filled with honey, the second with milk, the third with wine. The prophet tasted the first, drank the second, and declined the third, in which he was approved by the angel.

" There is for him, on the other side, but one place known."

" By ' the eighth heaven ' is understood the heaven of the fixed stars, and there are the constellations; " the churches" mean the twelve signs of the zodiac; each community of them inhabits a determined side; they do not combat each other, as the southern have no business with the northern, and each has his fixed situation: some of the constellations àre in the zodiac, some to the south, and others to the north.

" Besides, the prophet said: I saw five man- " sions greater than any thing else, which spread " their shade over earth and heaven." He denotes here the great heaven, which in its interior incloses all the other heavens, and is the greatest of all spaces.

Again, saying: " When I proceeded, I saw four " seas, the waters of each being of a different color," he implies an account of essentiality, corporeity, materiality, and exteriority; inasmuch as this account is generally perplexing, the idea of every one being conceived in a different way, and each way interpreted by every one.

And what the prophet said: " I saw angels much " occupied with beads and prayers and all taken up " with the precious sentence, *There is no God but one* " *God:*" this refers to pure spirits who are free from matters of desire, and spotless; and every man who

is remote from the world, wise, pure, and disengaged from all ties, when he separates from the body, is transported by God Almighty to the place and mansion of angels, and invested with everlasting beatitude. And the prophet assimilated him with angels, because they are seats of purity and devotion; that is, remote from corruption and perdition, and from the disturbance of sensuality, intent upon avoiding anger, and raised to the dignity of angels, perpetually engaged in the exploration of secret knowledge; they likewise never look upon the nether world, because, the body being in conjunction with mean and noble spirits, when a person fixes his sight upon low stations, he becomes liable to feel the attaint of necessity, and to search for expediency among circumstances; but when he effects his separation from them, he attains the noble perfection of himself, he becomes beatified, and immersed in delight and tranquillity, in such a manner that he never throws a look upon the inferior world, because, this bodily form being taken off from him, he then, by increase of knowledge and comprehension, acquires dignity and nobleness.

"Some are upon their knees, and some prostrate themselves."

Some are spiritual, some praisers of God, some bent before him, some holy, and some purified cherubim, conforming in customs, lords, and princes.

" Still more: When I left this assembly, in my " progess I arrived at a sea without borders; how- " soever I strained my sight, I could not perceive " any boundary or shore; and at this sea I saw a " river, and an angel who was pouring the sea- " water into the river, and from thence the water " ran to every place." By " the sea," he implies the first intelligence; and by " the river," the first spirit.

" Likewise: On the level of that sea, I perceived " a great desert, greater than which I had never " seen any space, so that, in spite of my endeavor, I " found neither the beginning nor the end of it." That is: I could not assign a limit to what was more extensive than any thing else, as the comprehension of a pure being belongs only to a perfect intelligence.

" In continuance: On the level of the sea and the " desert, I saw an angel surrounded with every " grandeur, splendor, and pomp, who guarded both " halves with facility; he called me to him, and " having joined him, I asked: ' What is thy name?' " He answered: ' *Mikáil:* I am the greatest of all " angels; whatever is difficult, ask it from me; and " whatever thou desirest, demand it from me: I will " satisfy all thy wishes." This means: When I had learned and considered all this, I understood the first command. And the Angel represents what is

called "the Holy Ghost," and is said to be "a che-
"rub." Whoever has access to him and receives his assistance, evinces himself as wise, and participates in spiritual enjoyments.

"And also: When I had set myself free from "saluting and questioning, I said: 'To arrive at "'this place I experienced much trouble, and my "'purpose in coming here was to attain know-"'ledge, and the sight of God Almighty. Grant "'me guidance, that I may satisfy my desire, and "'then return home.'" That is: by the pure command, which is the holy word, he wished that, as, after the study of nature, his inward sight was opened to clear evidence, he might behold every thing such as it was; he wished that he might find the absolute Being, the first cause, the self-existing necessary Being, the supreme good; and that he might know his unity so that in him multiplicity cannot exist.[1]

"What the prophet further said: That angel "took me by the hand,[2] and gave me a passage

[1] I followed here the manuscript of Oude, which reads:

و شناسد وحدت او چنانکه دروی کثرت نگنجد

[2] From the mansion of Jabríil they proceeded to the heavenly tabernacle, called *baitu'l mâmur*, "the house of delightful culture," and formed upon the model of the ancient Kâba, which, during the deluge, was carried by angels up to heaven and placed perpendicularly above the modern sanctuary of Mecca. Seventy thousand angels were always

" through several thousand curtains into a world,
" where I saw nothing like what I had seen before,
" until he brought me at last near the Lord of glory;
" then the command came to me: ' Approach.' "
This means: that the holy God is exempt from body, substance, and wants, which are found in this world.

going out and in to worship. In entering it, Jabriil gave the precedence to the prophet; they arrived at a golden veil, which the angel touched. Here the Angels sang: " There is no God but God; and from behind the veil the voice of God answered: " I am God, and no God exists but me." The Angels added: " Muhammed is the prophet of God;" and God confirmed it by the words: " My servants say the truth; I have sent Muham- " med as my apostle." Now, Muhammed was raised up by angelic hands; Jabriil remained behind. The prophet proceeded through seventy thousand veils of light and darkness; each veil had the opacity of a thousand years, and as many years separated the one from the other.

' Now he had attained the green rail with green cushions, illumed with a green light clearer than that of the sun. Muhammed was then called to approach; he adored; saw the Lord in the most beauteous form; and received the revelation of the Koran; before all three objects: 1. the five daily prayers; 2. the final verses of the second Sura of the Koran; 3. forgiveness of all sins, except that of idolatry, for his people. Here the Almighty pronounced the words: " If it had not been for thee, the world " would never have been created." — (See vol. I. pp. 2-3 . A drop flowed from the throne into the mouth of the prophet, who by it imbibed all the knowledge of the anterior and posterior world. All the Angels joined in a chorus, singing: " There is no God but one God, and Mu- " hammed is his prophet; and the great concert terminated with the words of the Koran, (chap. II. v. 285): " The Apostle believeth in that " which has been sent down unto him from his Lord, and the faithful " al so. Every one of them believeth in God and his Angels, and his " Scr iptures, and his Apostles. And they say: ' We have heard and " ' do obey; we implore thy mercy, O Lord! for unto thee must we " ' return.' "

" Again: In that majesty I immersed my sense " and motion, and found entire relaxation, content- " ment and tranquillity." That is: I acquired such a knowledge of his purity and of his beneficence, as no living being can comprehend with his sense: for he may have a clear perception of bodies, and observe forms and images; a substance *endowed with* a memorial intelligence conceives ideas; but the self-existent, necessary Being is out of this category, and cannot be understood by sense, imagination, and memorial power; in his majesty there is no motion, because motion is a change of existence; but the self-existent necessary Being is such as to be the mover of all things.

" The prophet said further: From fear of the " Lord I forgot all things I had seen and known " before, and I felt such an exaltation, inspira- " tion, and inward delight, that thou wouldst have " said: ' I am intoxicated.' " That is: When my intelligence found access to the knowledge of unity, I considered and investigated the parts, and from this study the rational soul derived such enjoyment, that all the powers of brutishness and nature desisted from their action, and such an immersion into unity manifested itself, that there remained no consideration for the science relative to substance and bodies.

" Again: I felt some impressions of God's prox-

" imity, so that I was seized with trembling; and I " heard the command: ' Proceed,' and I proceeded. " Then came the word: ' Fear not nor be disqui- " ' eted.' " This means: When I was initiated in the mystery of unity, I learned that the self-existent necessary Being is without the divisions of this world; I trembled at the boldness of my journey, which had attained such a height and distance; and I apprehended failing in the proof of the unity; but I heard the words: " Come nearer;" that is: dismiss thy pondering, fear, and terror; for such is the proper state of a believer in the unity of God, to be continually immersed in a spiritual ecstacy, so that he may never fall back into the disgrace of brutishness, and fear and hope belong to the state of brutishness.

" Moreover: I drew nearer, and upon me came " the blessing of the Lord, such as I never had " heard before;" that is: I received the revelation, the true words of the self-existent, necessary Being: and his speech is not like that of creatures by letters and sounds; no! his speech is evidence of knowledge, by itself pure, communicating to the spirit what he wills in a universal not a particular way.

" Further: The command came: ' Say thy prayer:' " I replied: I cannot; for thou art thyself such as " thou hast said." This means: When he was able to perceive the excellence of the belief in the unity of God, he found the truth of the words of the self-

existing necessary Being; he then felt such delight as he had never experienced before; he knew that the self-existing necessary Being is worthy of all prayers, but he felt at the same time that he could not express his prayers with the tongue, because an arrangement of letters is required for every thing which falls from the tongue, but that which has no connection except that of parts and the whole, is not suitable to the true, necessary, and self-existing Being, as he is not conceivable, either in parts or in a whole. The prophet knew that his prayer could not properly come from the tongue, as it is no business of the senses, but belongs properly to reason; but reason knew that an object highly deserving to be praised requires a praiser worthy of it, one whose knowledge may be adequate to the power of the being to be praised, so that the speech may prove suitable to the intention. The self-existent necessary Being is an object of unity without an equal, therefore the praise of any one will never be worthy of him. Besides, the prophet trusted also to God's knowledge, for he is all knowledge, and the knowledge of him is the theme of prayers to his being without letters and sound, and not by reason: he himself is his own ornament; he himself is his eloquence.

What the prophet further said: "The word "came to me: 'What dost thou wish?' I said:

" ' Leave to ask whatever comes into my mind, so " ' that my difficulties may be removed.' " This means: that when God asked: " What dost thou " wish," and I said " leave," it was knowledge I wished: because in this journey no other consideration but that of pure reason had remained, which was to approach the majesty of the self-existent Being, and to understand his unity, which cannot be obtained but by the gift of knowledge. The prophet wished to be rendered worthy of him, and by full knowledge to acquire the dignity required, that he might then exhibit every difficulty that occurred, and receive a categorical answer. For the guidance of mankind, he composed the rules of the law in words which came suitably to the ears of men, so that at the same time the meaning of them was fixed, and the veil of advice remained upon such things as are not required *to be known*; what proved also an assistance to that knowledge, was the journey, consequently to which the law was given, and the account of which was drawn up for publication in such a manner, that the sense of it was obvious to none but to the investigators of truth.

The prophet also said: " When I had performed " all this, and returned home, on account of the " rapidity of my journey, I found the bed-clothes " still warm." That is: he performed a journey of reflection, and travelled with his mind; the pur-

pose of this voyage was, by the consideration of the created beings to attain at the self-existent necessary Being; and when he had completed his mental task, he returned back into himself; he needed not a day for this business, but in less than in the twinkling of an eye recovered his former state; whoever knows, understands why he went; and whoever knows not, looks in vain for an expedient. It is not right to communicate these words to an ignorant or low person, because the enlightened alone can enjoy this fruit.'

So far the words of the example of the wise, the Shaikh Abú-âlí Sína.

In the book of the investigators of truth is to be found, and from the tongue of the intelligent the information has been received, that the moon is one of the archangels, and cherubim of God. Being a celestial body, he cannot be cleft, and the supremacy of his power is not subject to absurd changes of form, nor does he undergo them. Conseqently, the fissure of the moon, which is mentioned in the Koran, is an evident allegory, the sense of which is obvious; because every star and sphere has an internal foundation, called "reason," so that of the moon among all bears the title of "superior wis-"dom." It is also established in the fundamentals of the philosophers among this sect, that the utmost dignity and perfection of man, attributable to corporeity, is that which unites and coalesces into one,

"with superior wisdom;" whoever attains that degree, comprehends also any other to which he may proceed, without any new study for it; and no degree of human perfection and no knowledge is excluded from it. Hence, whenever this matter is understood, the fissure of the moon typifies nothing else but renunciation of the external for the internal, which is the "superior wisdom." As the lord prophet (the peace of God be upon him!) is the master of the lunar sphere, to cleave (or divide) the moon means to attain to the innermost recess of the moon. But this creed belongs to the learned of the *Mashâyin*, "peripatetics;" the *Ishrâkîan* say, the true solution of this enigma is contained in their fundamental science; viz.: light is the type of the primitive creation of the world, and they divided whatever is contained in it, in two parts: the first is a light, in which there is not the least mixture of obscurity and darkness, proper to corporeal matter; the second sort of light can be mixed with some material darkness. The first sort of light, pure in a general and real acceptation, originates from primitive matter, and, according to their showing, emerged absolutely free from parts; but the second sort of light is mixed with obscurity, and throws rays on all sides; its knowledge can be comprehended by generalities and particularities, whence by its power it passes into action. In their metaphysics it is also settled, that

the furthermost stretch and connection of beings, and the utmost term of completion, consist in this, that knowledge, may become manifest in the whole by generalities and particularities, so that nothing may remain deficient in any degree of power. Whenever this matter is settled, then the moon in their language signifies a mixed light, with this property, that it brings into action all the knowledge hidden in its efficacy, and by means of the reflection of rays elicits perfection.

Whoever is well founded in these notions acquires the faculty that all sciences, whatsoever they may be, come forth from him. It is then the moon which signifies mixed light, and the rending asunder of it means the arising of sciences and excellence, and their manifestation; that is, bringing forth all that is within, by means of breaking its exterior form.

As to fixing the seal of the prophetic office, and to completing the apostleship, so that after the prophet of Arabia no other may appear, they said what follows: The seal of the prophetic office means the acquisition of *âkl fâal*, "superior wisdom;" that is: whoever obtains it, and makes the proper use of it, possesses the seal of the prophetic office: because the first prophetic dignity is his intelligence, which is the *real* (*intrinsic*) *Adam*, "man." The prophetic seal is the tenth rank of intelligences,[1] and that

[1] See page 143 of this volume.

which is reared up by superior wisdom renders the prophet's knowledge vain, and takes his color: that is to say, if one hundred thousand prophets like himself realise in themselves the person of superior wisdom, they are possessors of the seal, the last prophets, because it is superior wisdom, which is the seal, and they know themselves to be *mahu*, "effaced," and superior wisdom to be existing."

But the Ashrákían say, that the first prophet is the majesty of the *cherubic light*, that is the first intelligence, and *the possessor of the prophetic seal* is the Lord God of the human race, that is, the intelligence which legislates the human race. Further, whoever found grace with the Lord of mankind, and became his near attendant, his *Kdim makám*, "vice-regent," although the authority of such a person be vain by itself *as delegate*, yet he, too, is called *the possessor of the prophetic seal* (the last prophet): so, as Azizi said:

"From head to foot, my person became my friend: hence, if I wish
"To see the friend, I place the mirror before me."

Kásam Khan said:

"I will in such a manner make myself one with thee, that if one day
"Thou seekest thyself, thou mayest find me within thy tunic."

As to the interpretation of what they say, that the prophet had no shade—this refers to an able son: as after Muhammed (the peace of the Highest be upon him!) the prophetic mission did not devolve

upon a son of his: hence the saying that he had no shade. It is also said, that never a fly sat upon the body of the prophet; which means that he never was tainted by avarice.

Section III.—Of the Successors of these Philosophers, and the chief Followers of this Creed.

Of this class, several learned men were personally known to the author of this book, but he will give an account of those only who were well founded and skilled in this creed. First, the doctor in theology, Hírbed, whom the author visited in Lahore. This doctor was a descendant from the family of Zardúsht, the prophet of God; he was conversant with Persian, showed great proficiency in Arabic, and in other sciences, in Shiraz, and held intercourse with learned Frangis. At last he came to India; always devoted to austerity, he led a pure and holy life. He composed hymns in Persian, Hindí, and Arabic, to the majesty of the light of lights, the powerful luminaries, and the stars. He acknowledged as a Kiblah the splendor-shedding bodies, and made his own, in spirit and word, the work of the lord Shaikh Maktul. Secondly, the doctor Manír was met by the writer of this work, in the year of the Hejira 1053 (A. D. 1643-4), in Kabul; he was one

of the Sáíds of Shiraz, but entered the elemental world in Irâk Ajem; he was skilful in sciences, and lived as a chaste independent and pious man; like Hirbed, he abstained from all sorts of animal food, and sang the hymns which go under the name of Shaikh Maktul, in praise of the luminaries, and venerated the stars; and both these persons paid homage with the sun, refulgent with light. The third was *Hakím dostúr*, who in 1054 of the Hejira (A. D. 1644–5) came to Lahore. He drew his origin from Ispáhan, but was born in Balkh; he studied in the service of the followers of Mulla Mírza Khan; then, having gone to Iran, he held intercourse with Mír Muhammed Báker dámád, with Shaikh Bahâv-ed-din Muhammed, with Mír Abúl Kásem Kandersaki, and with other learned men and Ulamá of Shíraz, not without great profit to himself; he attached himself to the rule of the *Mashâyín*, "peripatetics," and repeated the prayers which were written by the chief of this persuasion in praise of the self-existent Being, the intelligences, and spirits, and stars; and he was very zealously addicted to the worship of the heavenly bodies; although without pious austerity, yet he abstained from wickedness, and kept the way of moderation; according to the custom of merchants, he travelled a great deal. A fourth was *Kámrán*, of Shíraz. He also followed the creed of the Mashâyín; he possessed the natural and revealed

sciences; and after having acquired excellence, he happened to find himself at the mountain which is near the sea-ports of the Frangis; he took a great liking to their society, and was attracted by the religion of the Nasáreans: on that account he studied the Gospel, and derived great profit from their doctrines. Afterwards he went to India, where he contracted friendship with some Rájas; he became fond of their religion; read, with learned Brahmans, the sástras of the Hindús, that is, their scientific books, and in these also he became a master of art among the learned of India. Although ostensibly he adopted the said faith, yet he remained attached to the religion of the ancient philosophers. He showed great aversion to lying, thieving, debauchery, and unnatural love; and, according to the custom of the wise, forbore from killing animals; but now and then he indulged in a draught of wine, saying that it is very salutary. He was wont to sing hymns, which are in use among the Yúnian philosophers, and are now translated, in praise of God, the high intelligences and spirits, and the stars. He accepted no gift from any body; he was employed in trade, but he contented himself with a competent capital. Mír Abú 'l Kásem Kandarsakí called him "a brother dear as "life," nay, wrote to him as to an "elder brother." In the year of the Hejira 1050 (A. D. 1640-1) he retired to solitude at the *Serai Fargh*, "the fortu-

" nate palace," near the heaven-built town of *Akbar-abad*. It is said that, in his malady, he bestowed all he possessed in gift upon the Durvishes, and the ready money upon the Brahmans of Vichnu, and the like, who never hurt a living being. He delivered garments into the care of one named Muhammed, that this man might distribute them among the poor upon the road of Kachmir and Kabul, where the cold is severe, which Muhammed did; he there collected forage and provisions, which were given to cows, asses, to travellers, and the indigent, because they carry loads; he also confided scientific books to one called Húshíar, that he might give them to doctors devoted to science, and Húshíar so disposed in Agra of the works which he had received, and sent them to his friends. During his mortal malady he was constantly engaged in reading the *Alhíyát shafá*, " the hymns of recovery," and in translating the *Asúlújía*,[1] " Theologia," and he sang cheerfully: " I believe in the divinity of the most high " Creator, the prophecy of intelligence, the Imámet " of the spirit, the heaven as a Kiblah, and the libera- " tion of philosophy, and I detest the free-thinkers,

[1] اسو لوجیا is supposed to be one of Aristotle's works, which is said to have been translated by *Abenama*, a Saracen, from Greek into Arabic. This translation was found in the library of Damascus, by *Franciscus Roseus*, and at his request rendered into Latin, by *Moses Koras*, a Jew, but in a very barbarous style. This interpretation has perhaps never been published. Soon after, or about the same time, *Petrus Nicolaus ex*

" and other religions." At the moment of death, he pronounced the names of the self-existent Being, of the intelligence and spirit, and of the stars, and the by-standers also joined him in chorus, until he had left the mortal garment. His life exceeded one hundred years, and he had preserved his strength and his faculties entire. He gave these directions to Húshíar, that after death to be burnt would be preferable, but, if the people prevented it, Húshíar should bury him with his feet to the West, as all distinguished personages, such as Aristotle and his followers, repose in the same way. Húshíar executed his will, and also, according to his direction, burnt at the head of his tomb, during a whole week, every day and every night, a lamp to the honor of the star which at that time ruled over him, and distributed the food and raiment which are appropri-

Castellaneis Faventinus, a medical man and philosopher, translated the same work from Arabic into Latin; this new version was published with a dedication to Leo X., in 1718, by the above-said Franciscus Roseus. As it did not appear a sufficiently neat composition, *Jacobus Carpentarius Claromontanus Bellovacus*, a Parisian philosopher, who was ignorant of Arabic, published, in 1571, an emendated edition, or rather a metaphrase of this work, under the title: *Aristotelis libri XIV de secretiore parte divinæ sapientiæ secundum Ægyptios.* Some preferred to the latter the more exact although less elegant version of Petrus Nicolaus, new editions of which appeared in 1591 and 1593—(see upon this subject the *Bibliotheca Græca* of *Fabricius*, edit. of Harles, vol. III. pp. 278–279, and the preface of the edition of Carpentarius). The Arabic text of the work is in the Royal library of Paris, under the title اثيو لوجيا.

ated to that star among the Brahmans and necessitous, who all prayed to render the star propitious, in order that the soul of Hakím Kámrán might be united with the pure spirits. Húshíar went afterwards to Agra, and I saw a book in the hand-writing of Húshíár, in which was stated, that he, after Kámrán's death, saw him in a dream clothed in a fine garment, and sitting by the side of the lord *Mashteri*, " Jupiter." Húshíar asked him: " How " camest thou to this place?" He answered: " The " pure spirits, when they saw me free from worldly " desires, drew me to them, and by the aid of their " intercession, I was made one of the angels."

The creed of the Hakíms Hírbed and Manír, with regard to the reality of inspired persons, was, that these celebrated men were perfect sages, and masters of an excellent condition; by their words and deeds they reached the state of perfection, on which account they treated mysterious questions relative to theoretical and practical wisdom with the confidence of pure truth; but for the sake of the vulgar, they used a typical and allegorical language, leaving it to other sages, the able chiefs and saints of their persuasion, to explain the law and the religion: this is the creed of philosophers.

The prophets of Persia, such as Abád, Zardusht, and the like, are called *Vakhshúr*; the apostles of the *Yonán* and of Rome are *Aghásá daimún* (Agatho de-

mon);[1] *Hermes*, and the like, whom they name "possessors of fame;" the prophets of the Hindus, such as Ráma, Krishna, and the like, are entitled *Ava társ;* and the prophets of the Turks, such as *Aghrires* and *Aghúr khan*, are distinguished by the name of *Abulmas*. The prophets of Islám, from Adam, the father of mankind, to Muhammed, are called *resul*. In like manner the prophets of other nations were distinguished by titles such as *buzerg*, "great," or *sádik*, "pure." They said: it is right that no other prophet should come after the one: which is signified by the *seal of the prophetic mission*, that is, "the "utmost dignity of mankind." *Ibn Makanâ Sáheb-i-Mah Kashgher*,[2] also was reckoned among the prophets, and such was the controversy which arose about the head-khaláfet, the distinction, precedence, and rejection of the lords among each other, that it has not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. They said that there were four celebrated doctors; if a controversy arose, this is nothing less than what is proper to mankind, as no man can be free from the attributes of his race; on that account they abstained from reviling the case of Môávíah, but they said that he was a great personage. But the creed of the Hakím Dostur was, that the prophets of the Persians, Hindus, Yonans,

[1] See pp. 105–106.

[2] See pp. 3 and 80.

Turks, and Arabs, and such people, were promoting the establishment of a sort of knowledge and of some sorts of sciences; the philosophers, exerting themselves by the aid of the reasoning faculty, become founders of theoretical schools, and also lend their assistance with respect to theology. The scope of an *Hakím* is, that his reason may direct its laborious efforts towards all quarters, and, inasmuch as may be in its power, to bear a resemblance to the Lord God, the self-existent Being. The utmost endeavor of the prophets is, that the order of the world may be evident to them, so that they may, according to this order, arrange the affairs of society. But this order of affairs cannot be exempt from the excitement of desire, terror, and dubiousness; although, certainly, whatever the masters of law and religion have combined into a system, may be explained by what certain eminent philosophers have exhibited. Among other things it is said, that the world is very ancient, and its eternity without beginning and end indubitable. In the sequel, a learned Hakím raises pretensions to inspiration, excites others to the adoption of a creed which he endeavors to render firm. But Hakím Kámzán assented to no inspiration, he said:—In ancient times, sages established customs and regulations for the order of the world, and, as long as the inhabitants conformed to them, there was not the

least oppression in their doings; until finally they collected into a nation, worshipping pleasure and bent upon worldliness; then arose concealment of truth from the people, union by the strength of parentage, combination by fraud, and enveigling by means of enchantment and the like, by which idiots were drawn into a net. When those who implored protection were seized by the oppressors, helpless, the prudent among them bent down their heads; because when the strong become masters of the day, men submit to them on account of their being superior to the weak people, who have timid souls; thus they accepted their dominion by force, and contention ensued in the world. Moises was held to be an enchanter, and called *rabi Moises*; rabi being the name given by the Jews to the learned; Jesus was accounted a physician, and entitled *Hakim Jesus*, son of Joseph, the carpenter; Muhammed bore the name of "the prophet of God, the king of the Arabian poets;"[1] Krishna went under the name of

[1] ملکث اشعرای عرب. This is not quite correct: Muhammed introduces in his Koran (ch. XXXVI. v. 69) the Lord saying: "We have "not taught Muhammed the art of poetry; nor is it expedient for him "to be a poet. This book is no other than an admonition from God, "and a perspicuous Koran." The Arabian prophet, according to the best accounts, liked to hear poetry read, but never perused any himself, although he frequently spoke in the metre called رجز *rijez*. The only Arabic verse which he often repeated was the celebrated one from the poem of Lebid:

Avátar chalnál,[1] that is, the "incarnation of the lewd, "and devoted to women." And thus the celebrated prophets were distinguished. The intelligent know well that the most high Creator does not articulate words, but the sacred dictates which the vulgar receive are to be thus considered—that, if those books which they call "heavenly," such as the Koran, were really the words of God, which were delivered in time past to our ancestors, such as to Adam and Noah, it would be right that they should be also communicated in time to come to future generations, expressing, viz.: that in such a time and year, and month and week, on such a day, at such an hour, a person shall appear, in such a town and such a street, tribe sprung from such a one, with such a name, and such an aspect. But such an account is not to be found in the Koran; it is only by the interpretation of his followers that many traditions about Muhammed are current. The same may be said of

Is not every thing, except God vain?

Aisha, his favorite consort, declares in the traditions, that he hated verses, and never recited one correctly. One day he attempted to quote the known verse of an Arabian poet:

The days bring to thee news that thou dost not know;
And some man brings news the spirit of which he doth not understand.

But he altered somewhat the order of the last words. "Prophet of God!" said Abu bekr, "the verse runs not so." Muhammed answered: "I "am no poet."—(*Gemäldesaal Mosl. Herrscher, I^ter Band, Seite* 230.)

[1] छलन *chhalana*, "tricking, deceiving."

other prophets. For if it were stated in the book of Jesus, that at the determined time, as we have just shown, there shall appear a person whose name in Arabia shall be Muhammed, sprung from the father Abd 'ulla and the mother Amíná, from the children Hashem and Korésh, inhabitants of Mecca; and he shall be the last prophet of the age; all the Christians should acknowledge and believe in him. And in the same manner there should have been, in the book of Moses, a prediction of Jesus, and a further account of events which took place at his appearance. But this is not the case, except that the followers of Jesus seize, in figurative language, on whatever may suit their persuasion. Thus it happened that one of the Afgháns applied the words: " Say, there is " but one God," to himself.

He further said: " If I agree to their prophetic mission, whence was it shown that this people were prophets? for, if pursuant to their claim to prophetic office and legislation, we adopt what at every time is held out as legal, why are their fundamental articles of faith in contradiction to each other with respect to the knowledge of the self-existent Being? Thus, in the Pentateuch of the Jews, God has a body, and corporeity; and the Christians believe Jesus a son of God, and the Muhammedans according to the Koran believe God to be without an equal, and not to be described. If God be similar to what

he is represented in all these books, he is not unlike a man who does not know himself, and at each time gives an account of himself, which he varies, and of which he repents. If they say, the real sense is the same, the figurative expression and interpretation only change, it is not less evident, that the books and the prophets have been sent for the purpose of leading men to God, and not to instigate them to rebel; or, after having proclaimed his word, to combat each other by controversy. He commands the sacrifice of their blood and property for the common good. And if they say, the servants cannot disagree about the knowledge of God, why then is it written in the books that they must know him in that, and in no other way? and why do we perceive such a contradiction in the deeds, and frequently in the words, of the celebrated prophets? The intelligent man can no longer recognise them by their noble actions.

Somebody said to the Hakím Kámrán: "Give me "in substance the belief of the Sonnites and the "Shíâhs." He replied: "The creed of the Son- "nites is, after the praise of God the most high, and "the attributes of the prophet, blessing and mercy "of God upon all transgressors and sinners, men, "and women; and the creed of the Shíâhs is after "the praise of God, and the attributes of the pro- "phet, the curse of God upon all believers, men

" and women; and Muselmans, men and women." And he had much to say about this subject.

Abu 'l Hassan Taherani, surnamed *Isfahán*, son of *Ghaib báig*, surnamed *Iâtimad eddoulah*, became a follower of Kámrán, by the persuasion of the friends of the latter, as the author of this book perceived in a letter, written by *Rafiâ 'l Kader* to Hakím Kámrán, in which the former declared himself the disciple of Kámrán, whom he called his master, and addressed in a suitable style. Thus was also Zemán Baig born in Arghún, his father, a native of Kabul, was surnamed Mahábet Khán, who, by his gravity, bravery, and wisdom, acquired a high rank among the Omras of the Indian Sultans. He was in a friendly connection with Kámrán, and in the letters which the mighty khan wrote to Hakím Kámrán, he showed him great respect, and professed himself his disciple. It is said that, at a banquet, Mahábet Khan declared the saying of the prophetic asylum—

" I was a prophet, and Adam in water and mud—"

to be without sense. Further, whoever acknowledges the prophetic mission of Muhammed accounts it to begin after the prophet's fortieth year, and whoever does not acknowledge it, is free in this opinion. Muhammed said: " *I was a prophet, and Adam in water* " *and mud.*" Kámrán went seldom into the houses of this sect, and kept himself at a distance from them. When, yielding to a thousand entreaties, he

visited them, he changed his usual dress, sat only a moment with them, and rose immediately; he never ate with them, nor accepted he any thing from one of this sect. When asked upon his keeping himself at a distance from them, he said: "The "spirit of brutishness and savagery holds its mas- "tership over you, and I cannot always associate "with brutes and beasts of prey." He remained even a long time without seeing them. But *Abd ul rasul* frequented him, and, conformably to Kámrán's advice, detached himself from worldly desires, and crushed anger and lust in his mind. On that account Hakím Kámrán, having conceived friendship for him, taught him first the rules of grammar and etymology, then the *Sherah Shamsiyah*, "Commentary upon "Shamsiyah;"[1] besides the physiological part of the Commentary upon *Hedáyah al hikmet*, "the Guide to "Science," composed by *Hossain*, son of *Mâyin eddin Maibedí*;[2] further, matters relating to the Com-

[1] *Shamsiyah*, "the sun's course, ecliptic," is the title of a treatise composed upon logic by *Nagmeddin Alí Ben Omar al Kazvíni*, who was a disciple of Nusir-eddin al-Túsí. The said work is dedicated to *Khogiah Shams-eddín Muhammed*, perhaps one of the twelve princes called *Sarbedarian*, who reigned thirty-five years in the town of *Sebzvar*, in Khorassan, and in other places which they had conquered.—(Herbelot.)

[2] *Maibed* is a town of Persia, the native place of *Ka'zí' Mír Hossain Ibn Mâyin eddin*, above-mentioned. He is one of the commentators of the work above quoted, which is divided into three parts, comprising logic, physiology, and theology, and was composed by the Shaikh *Asir*

mentary upon *Hikmet al âin*, "the Science of what is "essential,"[1] and afterwards the Commentary upon *Tajerîd*,[2] "Divestment of what is accessory," with marginal notes; also the physiological part of the Commentary upon *Isháret*,[3] "Indications (allegori- "cal, symbolical, and others);" and, finally, the *Ilahyat shafa*, "the Hymns of Recovery." Thus also, Mulla Yacúb read with him the *Taherir*, "Writings" of Euclid, and a Commentary upon *Tazkerah*,[4] "Commemoration;" and was attached to him. Likewise Mír Sherîf, having read the *Mutavel*,[5] "Development," and the *Tafsir*, "Explana- "tion," of Baízavi,[6] resolved to follow his school;

eddin Mifazzel, son of *Omar al Abheri*. The author died in the year of the Hejira 660 (A. D. 1261).

[1] The author of *Hikmet al âin* was *Najem eddin Abu 'l Hassan Ali*, son of *Muhammed*, surnamed *Dabiran al Katebi' al Kazvi'ni*. He was a disciple of the celebrated Nasir-eddin Tusi, and died in the year of the Hejira 675 (A. D. 1276).

[2] We find, in the Bibliographical Dictionary of *Haji Khalfa*, several titles of books beginning by the word *Tajerîd*.

[3] There exists a work entitled *Isha'ret*, composed by *Asir-eddin Mifazzel*, before-mentioned.

[4] The *Tazkerah* was written by Nasir-eddin Tusi.

[5] The *Mutavel* denotes a Commentary, the author of which is *Sâad-eddin Taftarani* (or "Tagtarani," according to Herbelot), upon the work *Meftah al alu'm*, "the Key of Sciences," and which is entitled *Talkhi's al Meftah*, "Explanation of the Key."

[6] Baizavi is the surname of *Nasir eddin Abu Said Abdalla Ben Omar*, a native of the town *Baizah*, in the province of *Fars*, about forty-five miles distant from *Shiraz*. He was a *Ka'zi'*, "judge," of the last-named town, from which he passed to *Tauris*, where he died in the year of the

and, what is more astonishing, Mulla Usám read with him the illustrations and demonstrations which are in the fundamentals of Hanifa's religious law, and adopted his faith. But Mulla Sultan, although he acknowledged his high rank of excellence, never adhered to him. And Hakím Kámrán said: "What "is not understood, becomes a subject of dispute." Thus Mulla Sultán followed with intense application the study of the soul, and the chain of demonstrations relative to it, but he said: "I am not able "to understand its nature, and am, in that respect, "like a parrot." Among the able disciples of Hakím Kamrán was Hakím Mershed, who passed through all degrees of science before him, and possessed his entire confidence.[1] Hakím Kámrán was wont at that time, when he gave lessons of science, to wash his head, hands, and feet, to burn sweet perfumes, and to turn his face towards the sun, in which his disciples imitated him. He did not confer his instruction upon every body, but refused it to the depraved, the oppressors, and the voluptuous; nor did he hold intercourse with low persons.

Hejira 685 or 692 (A. D. 1286 or 1292). He composed a literal Commentary in two volumes upon the Koran.

[1] Here a play upon a name is omitted: جون کامران بسر تجرد کامران است: as Kámrán, in business, is *Ka'mra'n*, "fortunate."

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Religion of the Sufiahs,[1] contained in three Sections.

Section I.—Some of their tenets.
Section II.—The open interpretation of their open confessions.
Section III.—Some individuals among them.

Section I.—Of some of their tenets.

These sectaries, like other philosophers, always were, and are, scattered among all nations of the

[1] Several derivations are given to the word *Sufi*; it may be here sufficient to adduce the three most specious of them. Some derive the name from the verb صفا, *Safá*, "he was sincere, pure;" this derivation is claimed by these sectaries themselves, who frequently call themselves أصفيا, *Asfi'á*, "pure," as may be seen in Jami's work, *Tohfat ol ebrar*, "a present offered to the pious:" and in *Gulshenraz* (work quoted). To this etymology is objected, that a substantive derived from the said verb should be صفي, and not صوفي. Others deduce it with grammatical strictness from صوف *su'f*, "wool," and *sufi* signifies therefore "wool-dressed." But the fact is, that not all wool-dressed persons are Súfis, and not all Súfis are wool-dressed: a Súfi may wear a Durvish's patched coat, or satin, as it was said by a true Súfi. If, of the two etymologies quoted, the first does not answer the grammatical construction, the second does not render the meaning to be expressed. The latter appears to me so much more important, that I am disposed to pass over an anomalous construction, which in other names is not without numerous examples. Nor would I be averse to derive the word, with other etymologists, from the Greek σοφος, "wise," or σαφες, "pure;" notwithstanding the general use of representing in words of Greek derivation the *sigma*, Σ, by a *sin*, س, and not by a *sad*, ص, if I did not

world, and are called in Persian *vèzhahderún*, "internally pure," or *róuchen-dil*, "enlightened minds," or *Yékána-bín*, "seers of unity;" in the Hindu language, *Rakhśher* (Rakshasas) and *Tapśher* (Tapasis) *Gyanisher* and *Gyáni* (Jnánis), or *Atma-jnánis*. The lord *Maulavi Jámi*, in his work entitled *Resálah-i-vajudíah*, "treatise upon existence,"[1] states, that the universal Being is distinct from any intellectual and exterior existence, inasmuch as every individual from among the intellectual and exterior beings belongs to some class of beings; but the universal Being is not subordinate to the condition of any thing; he is absolute and sovereign, and not general, not partial, not special, not common, and not one by (the number of) unity; for, it is neither a substance nor an accident, but by itself one, and not a multiple. These things however are necessary in

perceive a great difference between the doctrine of a *Sofos* and that of a *Su'fi*, which latter bears most especially an Asiatic character, and the origin of which remounts to the kings Mahabad and Jemshid (*Dasa'tir*, Eng. Transl., pp. 23, 97). Our author says: "Súfism is to be found "among all nations." The first Muhammedan Súfi is said to have been *Abu Hashem*, a native of Kufa, who died in the year of the Hejira 150 (A. D. 767).—(See *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi et d'autres bibliothèques*, vol. X. p. 200.) The origin of such a character among Muselmans, if not in name, yet in fact, may be traced further back to the first century of the Hejira.—(See note 2, p. 18.)

[1] The more correct title of this work is *Resalah fil vujud*. — (See *Geshichte der Schönen Redekünste Persiens von Joseph von Hammer*, S. 314).

the sovereign being, according to their degrees and stations,[1] but the real Being, under the condition of no substance whatever, is distinguished by the name *martibah-ahadiyat*,[2] "degree of unity," and all names and attributes are (as it were) consumed by this degree, which the Yogis express by the title *hakiket al hakáyek*,[3] "reality of realities." But the real Being, under the condition of all things which are necessarily himself, according to generalities and specialities, is called by names and attributes of the divine degree, and this degree is entitled *Vahedet-i-mokam*,[4] "solitariness of station," and *jamah*,[5] "union." The real Being, under no condition of "a thing" (*shí*),[6] and under no condition of "nothing" (*láshi*),[7] is called *húviyat*,[8] "essence, absolute being, objectivity," and it is manifesting itself[9] in all exist-

[1] بحسب مراتب و مقامات.

[2] مرتبه احدیت.

[3] حقیقت الحقایق.

[4] وحدت مقام.

[5] جمع.

[6] شئ.

[7] لاشئ.

[8] هویت, a substantive formed from هو, *hu*, "he is" (*Yahu Yehovah*).

[9] I interpret in this place the word *sa'rí'* in the sense which is given to it by the commentator of the Gulshen Raz, in a passage of that work which will be quoted hereafter.

ences, and under the condition of "a thing and no-"thing," is the form of the universe.[1]

Some of the sagacious have stated that, in the same manner as the sun is radiant, so the real Being manifests himself at once; for in opposition to it is *âdem*, "non-entity," and from the superabundance of manifestation the tongue and language (in the effort) to express and to describe, to define and to explain, become dumb. The final explanation of the two words, *vojud*, "existence," and *âdem*, "non-"entity" may be, that existence is the negation of non-entity, and non-entity the negation of existence; and the Lord of unity is the grand origin of the multiplicity of names and attributes. The first attribute, which emerged into manifestation by this Lord from within, was intelligence; and in this degree all *aâyán sabitah*, "fixed realities,[2] were under intellec-

[1] The above *shi'* and *la'shi'* is evidently the *sad asat*, "being, not "being," of the Hindus, an attribute of the divinity, combined with its unity. "For," says the author of Gulshen Raz (see German Transl., p. 17), "unity exists in non-existence as well as in existence; multipli-"city proceeds but from relation; difference and variety of things pro-"ceed from the change of the possible: as the existence of both is but "one, they furnish the proof that God is but one."

[2] اعيان الثابته. *Aâyan* signifies "substances;" these are things which maintain themselves by themselves; or realities, which occupy a space by themselves, without their existence in space depending upon the concomitant existence of another thing. This is the contrary of accidents, the existence of which depends upon the concomitant existence of the substance which serves to support them, or which is the place by which they are supported. *Aâyán sabitah*, that is, "fixed substances,"

tual forms, and in this degree the Súfis give to the true highest and absolute Being the name of "All-"Wise." The impulsion of divine wisdom to procure to his fixed ideals the superiority over nonentity is by them entitled *irádet*,[1] "providence," and the name of *murid*, "he who wills," attached to God. As often as the divine knowledge becomes joined to accomplishment and victory, as having

are realities of things inclosed in the science of God, that is to say, the figures of realities of divine names in the *scientific presence*. They are posterior to God only as to essence, and not as to time; for they are eternal, as much on the side of the past as on the side of the future. When it is said, that God produces them by emanation, the posteriority which is thereby expressed, refers but to essence, and is not true in any other sense.—(See *Jorjani's Definitions in Ext. et Not. des MSS.*, vol. X. p. 65.)—We may, in a language more familiar to us perhaps, express them by "eternal ideals," or "prototypes of realities." Silvestre de Sacy adds to Jorjani's explanation, that the question is here about divine names, that is, attributes of God as emanating from his essence, and residing in him, but not yet produced externally by any action. *The scientific presence* mentioned in this explanation appears, to him, to signify the divine majesty, inasmuch as manifesting its presence to beings which have no other existence but in the science of God.

[1] إرادت, "inclination, design, will." According to *Jorjani's Definitions* (see *Ext. et Not. des MSS.*, vol. X. p. 37), *iradet* is a quality which produces in a living being a state, the effect of which is that he acts in one manner rather than in another. In its exact sense, it is a faculty which has no other object in view but that which does not exist; for "the will" is an attribute, the special object of which is to give existence to any thing, and to produce it conformably with the words of the Koran: "*When he wills a thing he says to it: "Be," and it is.*" *Iradet* is also interpreted an inclination to any thing which follows the opinion of utility, and in this sense I have translated it above "providence."

given to the existence of knowledge the superiority over contingencies, in this degree they call this victory *kadaret*, "might;" and in this degree originated the name of *Kadir*, "Almighty." With respect to the seeing of God, as the meaning of knowledge is his presence in face of the existing external figures of contingencies, in this degree, the name of *Bâsîr*, "the All-Seeing," offered itself. Likewise, the meditation upon God, by those who, praying, recite his emblematic attributes, is the time of propitiating; and the granting of these prayers is called *samîâ*, "hearing:" whence proceeded the name samîâ, "hearer." Further, the will of God, the Highest, becoming concentrated in this state, having joined the letter *kaf* (k) to the letter *nún* (n), so as to manifest by action *kun faîkun*,[1] "Be, and it "is:" this state they called *kalâm*, "the word," and the name of *mutkalem*, "speaker," was produced on this account.

The lord Shaikh Muhammed Shosterí,[2] in his treatise *Hak al yakín*,[3] "the truth of conviction," has

[1] كن فيكون.

[2] I think it ought to be *Shabisteri* instead of *Shosteri*, as I find in Baron von Hammer's *Gulshen-raz* (pp. 27–32) a treatise entitled *Hak ol yakin*, as above, attributed to the before quoted Mahmud Shebisteri (vol. I. p. 82), of whom more hereafter. The whole title of the above-mentioned work is *Hak ol yukin fi mâarifet-i-rebbil âalemin*, "the truth of "conviction in the knowledge of the Lord of the world."

[3] The word *yakin* signifies "an intuitive certainty," produced by energy of faith, and not by arguments and proofs.

stated, that the action of choice prevails with the self-existent Being over necessity, because choice is presupposed in the nature of might, and provident choice, as well as vicissitudes and excitement, are parts suitable to a purpose, and providence came to succour every one of the necessitous crowd, by procreating remedies against the evils without number which are determined by necessity, in opposition to that necessity whence pure procreation proceeds. When the free agent is straightened in his choice, then choice assumes the nature of necessity. Thus *Ibn Mâyín eddin Maibedí*[1] relates, in his *Favátah*, "Prolegomena," that the Súfis say: The wished for, but never-found Being proceeds from the field of pure non-entity, and the bare negation puts no foot into the station of evidence and habitation of bodily existence, in the same manner as the wished-for but never-found Being never assumes the color of bodily existence; certainly, the real Being also does not take the color of non-entity. The substance of any thing cannot be caused to vanish into non-existence; thus, if thou consumest a stick in the fire, its substance is not annihilated although its form changes, and becomes manifest in the form of ashes. The self-existent Being is an essence which is stable in all conditions, and in the accidents of existence, in the forms and

[1] See page 217, note 2.

states which undergo changes, the divine procreation of the world is the manifested light of his absolute reality, under the shape of divers combinations which thou beholdest.

"Certainly God made the heaven and earth to shine."

In the book of the sagacious is found that the beautiful of this world enjoys the advantage of his beauty, when he beholds and considers its reflexion in a looking-glass; on that account, the absolute Being, having been revealed in the mirror of existences and appropriate places, and having seen his beauty in various mirrors, and in every one of them being exhibited under a shape worthy of himself, become manifest in a series of multitudinous appearances.

The Súfis further say: God is pure, conformable to his essence, above all purity and comparison, and in the gradations of names and attributes praised in both ways. Whoever dispenses with the comparison of something which has no equal, does not know that, declaring God to be without an equal, is comparing him with pure beings. The friends of God say that his name is of three kinds, viz.: he is *itlák*, "absolute," by his essence, or considered as an unsubstantial (abstract) thing;[1] and they give him

[1] The original text has here باعتبار امر عدمی *ba itibá'r-i-amr ádemí'*. *Itibar* has in the Dictionary, among other significations, that of "rea-

the name of *zát*, " essence," like that of *kadus*, " pure, holy;" that is, considered as a substance, he is the Being the meaning of which is not dependent upon the meaning of another; they call him *sifet*, " excelling in attributes," and *hái*, " living;" that is, considered as a substance, he is a Being whose meaning is dependent upon that of another. They name him *fâl*, " action," like *khálik*, " Crea- " tor," which is the general name of God, as well as

" soning or computing by comparison; considering with attention; cal- " culating properly," which appears to me the only meaning applicable in this place; *ba itibar* may perhaps here be better interpreted by " in the " acceptation (assumption) of." This word occurs twice with امور, *amur* (the plural of *amr*), in the following important passage of *Gulshen raz:*

وجود اندر کالش حوبش ساربست
تعینها امور اعتباربست
امور اعتباري نیست موجود
عدو بسیار و یکچیزست معدود
جهانرا نیست هستی جز مجازي
سراسر حال او لهوست و بازي

Baron von Hammer interprets *amu'ri itibari'* by " Gegenstande der " Erscheinung," that is " objects of appearance;" I dare differ somewhat in the expression, but not in the meaning of these words: " Existence " manifests itself (see p. 222, note 9) in its own place; things perceived by " senses are mere objects of acceptation; things of acceptation are not " real. There are many numbers, but one only is numbered (that is, " numbers are only one unit, repeatedly employed). The world has no " existence but as a metaphoric image: its state is entirely a farce and " a play."

rahmen, "mercy;" but the great name is at last *khafá*, "the concealed (mysterious)." A person asked the lord Shaikh *Bayezíd Bastámí*:[1] "Which is "the great name of God?" The Shaikh answered: "Communicate thou to me his least name, that I "may give thee in return his greatest:" that is to say, the names of God are all great.

The sagacious say: Every era is the epoch of the fame and dominion of a name, and when this epoch expires, it becomes concealed under the name which it had at the epoch of its flourishing state.[2]

[1] Bastam is a town of Khorassan, the native place of *Abu Yezid Taifer ben Issa*, one of the most celebrated Súfis of Persia. He had inherited the frock of another mystical personage, called Habib Ajemi. Bastami attained the supreme degree of spirituality—perfect union with God. He occasionally branched out into all the enthusiasm imaginable, saying that God was with him and near him, nay in the sleeve of his garment; and then again he came at times into the regular order of piety and devotion, hoping that God would forgive him his sins, and let his latter end be that of the righteous. It is said of him (see the third *Majalis*, "conference," of Sádi) that, having once called out to God for union with the supreme Being, he heard the voice from above: "Abu Yezid, thy "*thou* is still with thee; if thou wilt come to me, abandon thyself and "come." He died in the year of the Hejira 261 (A. D. 874). — (See Transact. of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay, vol. I. p. 100; Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, p. 395; *Pend nameh*, edit. and transl. by Silvestre de Sacy, p. 231.)

[2] Silvestre de Sacy, in the translation of a part of the Definitions of Jorjáni, gives the following note as translated from the Persian (see *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. X. p. 67): "The Súfis declare that every time "is the turn of the manifestation of a name (divine); when the turn of "this name is terminated, it conceals itself under another name, for "which the turn of denomination is arrived. The periods of the seven

They say, the names of the Deity contain the distinct forms in the divine science, and these are called *aḍyan sábitah*, "fixed substances,"[1] whether general or partial, and these intellectual forms received existence in eternity without beginning,[1] by *fayz*,[2] "ema- "nation," from the essence of God endowed with most holy emanation. Further, the intellectual forms rise into evidence with all dependencies and necessary consequences of the most holy emanation. The fixed substances have a relation to the names

" planets, each of one thousand years, are attached to it; and the words " of the Koran, speaking of God: " *Every day he is in action*, indicate " it; *because one day of thy Lord is equivalent to one thousand years of* " *yours*. Verse. *O thou whose light manifests itself in the vest of the* " *world, thy names are manifested in the nature of man; thy science* " *shows itself by the science of* (Muhammed) *the seal* (of prophets); *thy* " *bounty is manifested by the bounty of khatem* (the seal). The divine " names are distinct forms, which are called *aḍyan sabitah*, " fixed reali- " ties."—(Extracted from the Divân of Alî.)

[1] The word in the text is ازل, *azl*, which means duration of existence during a series of *finite* times, and *infinite* on the side of the *past*, as ابد, *abad*, signifies duration of existence during a series of *finite* times, and *infinite* on the side of the *future*. — (See Definitions of Jorjâni, in *Not. et Ext. des MSS.*, vol. X. p. 39.)

[2] فيض is translated by Silvestre de Sacy " emanation;" and فيض القدس *fayz al kudis*, by " émanation très sainte (see *Ibid.*, p. 66). In common acceptation, *fayz* signifies " plenty, abundance, bounty, " grace;" *fayz-al akdes* means also " communication of divine grace made " to angels, prophets, and other superior intelligences without the inter- " vention of the Holy Ghost."

of bodies, and to the external substances[1] of spirits, and between all beings there arises an interposition dependent on the degree of excellence which it has with respect to God. All the reality of accidental beings lies in the external existence; the reality of individuals is dependent upon fixed times, and every one emerges into existence at his time.[2]

The Súfis maintain that all attributes of perfection are necessarily inherent in the supreme holy essence; that is, are fixed by the purity of his essence. What in the accidental substance is fixed by properties, for instance, thy substance, is not sufficient for the revelation of thyself; as long as the attribute of God's essence, which is the principle of that revelation, has not taken firm hold of thee, this revelation

[1] اعيان خارجيه, *adyan kharji'ah*. The scholastics have distinguished fixed and external substances; the Súfis distinguish substances in and without God.

[2] The word وقت, *wakt*, "time," has a technical signification.—According to Jorjáni, it means: "Your state, that is, that which is re-"quired by your actual disposition, and is not produced by design." *Shehab eddin Omar Sohrawerdi* (who died A. D. 1234) says: "*Time* is "what dominates man; man is not dominated by any thing more than by "his *time*; for time is like a sword, it executes its decrees and cuts. By "*time* is therefore meant what comes forcibly upon a man without being "the fruit of his action; so that, subject to its power, he is constrained "to conform to it. It is said: '*Such a one is under the dominion of time*,' "that is, he is retired from things which are his own, and transported to "things which belong to God."

cannot be obtained. On the contrary, God, the most High, stands not in need of that revelation of things, on account of the purity which is inherent in him; but his essence is the principle of that revelation; that is, his essence and attributes are one. On this account, the Amir of the believers, Alí, said:

"The perfection of the belief in the unity of God consists in the "negation of attributes."

The lord Shaikh Dáud Kais'erí says in the *Sherah-fes us*, "Commentary upon the bezels:"[1] the knowledge of God the most High, in his essence, is the identity of the essence, and the knowledge of this world is that of the forms of things in it, whether generally or partially; and if one essence is *said to be* the receptacle of manifold things, this *acceptation* is not to be feared, as the things are identic with God according to the acceptation of "existence," and in truth are different *only* according to the acceptation of being either involved or manifested. Further, in reality, there is neither state nor place, but there is one object exhibited under forms of decoration and portraiture by external appearances. *Kasá*, "God's

[1] *Fes'us' ol hikem*, "the bezels of philosophemes," is one of the most celebrated works composed by Mohí eddin Ibn Arabí, upon whom see a subsequent note. This work was commented, not only by the above-mentioned Daúd Kais'erí (of Cæsarea), but also by Anif-eddin Telmesaní, and others. — See Baron von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osm. Reiches, II ter Band. Seite* 657.)

" universal judgment or decree (predestination)" is the summary decision of the conditions of existence, as the decision for the death of all mankind; and *Kadr*[1] is " the interpretation of that decision by " determined means, and in consequence of results " conformable to the faculties;" for instance, the decision of the death of Záid, on such a day, by such a malady. *Kas a*, " predestination," is the eternal knowledge concerning existences, and this knowledge is dependent on the *âyán sábitah*, " fixed " substances." Each thing demands, by disposition,[2] a peculiar emanation of God.

The Súfis say, according to the sacred text:

" God created man according to his image."

We have the power of acting on account of our being the mirror of the supreme essence; if we say: " The action is ours," it may be right; and if we say: " It is of God," it is equally true. The master of the rose-bower says:

" *Masnavi.* Recognise the mark of God in every place,
" Never place the foot without its own limit.
" Whoever has a faith other than that of Jabr[3]

[1] Upon Kas'a and Kadr see vol. II. pp. 352–353, note 1.

[2] استعداد, *istidad*, " disposition," that is, when a thing possesses the near or remote quality for action.—(Jorjání's Definitions.)

[3] The name of *Jabr* is common to several doctors of Muselmanism. The most ancient of them is *Abu Abd-allah Jabr Ben Abd allah al Ansari*, a native of Medina, as it is indicated by his surname. Jabr,

' Is, according to the word of the prophet, to be accounted a Guéber.
" In like manner as that Guéber said : ' Yezdán, Aherman,'
" So was it as if that ignorant blockhead had said : ' He and me ;'
" The actions have but a metaphorical connection with us,
" A connection with him in reality is a ludicrous play.
" How came it, O man without intelligence, that, from eternity,
" This man should be Muhammed, and the other Abú Jehel ?"

It is written in the glorious Koran :

" If any thing good happens to them, they say : ' It comes from God ;'
" and if any thing bad, they say : ' It comes from me ;' say : ' Every
" ' thing comes from God.' "

The Súfis say that the whole heaven is a body, the first intelligence its soul, the breath of the whole his heart, and the spirits of the seven planets, of the fixed stars and the rest, are his power.

" Your creation and your resurrection are as those of one man."

The Shaikh Mohí eddin [1] says in his *Fas hawdí*,

according to Mirkhond, first a pagan, after having examined the sacred books of all other nations, Jews and Christians, was vanquished by Muhammed's eloquence, and adopted his faith.

Another Jabr is *Abu Mussa Jabr Ben Haï'an al Sufi*, author of the book *Kitab al Jafr*, and of many other, some say five hundred, works upon the philosopher's stone. He lived in the middle of the third century of the Hejira (about A. D. 864).

A third Jabr, an Andalusian, is surnamed *Shems-eddin*.

[1] *Mohi-eddin*, " he who makes religion revive and flourish," is a surname borne by several Muselman doctors. The above-mentioned is *Mohi-eddin Ibn al Arabi*, born in Kordua, in Spain, of an Arabian family, called *Tayi*, in the year of the Hejira 560 (A. D. 1164). He studied in the academy of Seville, and then visited Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, where he heard the most distinguished Shaikhs of his time. He became the founder of a mystic school from which, among other remarkable disciples, the great *Maulana Jelal-eddin Rumi* issued ; he is called " the

" chapter of repentance :" The world is the image of God, and he the soul and governor of the universe, further he is the great mankind. The lord Maulavi Jámí, in the *Nakd-al fas'us*, " the ready money of " bezels," states, that there are two divisions of the beings of the universe: the first consists of those who on no account have any sort of connection with the bodily world, in conformity to office and direction; these, called *Cherubim*, are divided into two classes: the one take not the least notice of the world and its inhabitants, and are named " the great Angels;" the other, although not connected with the bodily world, are yet entranced in astonishment as witnesses and valuers *of God's power*, standing at the curtain of the divine court, and being the ministers of the supreme bounty; before them is an angel enti-

" Pole of the mystic world." He died in the year of the Hejira 638 (A. D. 1240), in his seventy-sixth year, and was buried at the foot of mount Cassius, near Damascus, where his sepulchral monument is still well preserved. He left thirty-three works, which are enumerated by Baron von Hammer, the illustrious historian of the Ottoman empire.—(See vol. II. pp. 490. 657 of the German work.)

The Muselmans in India revere, under the name of Mohi-eddin, a saint, son of Zangui and Bibi Fatima, called also Shaikh Saddo. He lived at Sambhal, in Rohilkunt, according to others, at Amroha, in the province of Delhi, where his tomb still exists. There the devotees assemble every year, on the 11th day of the 2nd Rabiâ (the 4th month of the Arabian year) and celebrate the saint's memory, by particular *fatihas*, " prayers," addressed to him, and other acts of devotion.—(See *Mémoire sur les particularités de la Relig. Muselm. dans l'Inde, par M. Garcin de Tassy*, pp. 46–54.)

tled "the great spirit," greater than whom no angel exists. According to another interpretation he is said to be "the highest secretary and first intelli- "gence." This great spirit (the blessing of God be upon him!) holds the first rank of this class. The spirit, who is called *Jabríil*, follows after him in this legion.

"The rank which he possesses is a place known."

Another division is composed of those who have connection with the bodily world according to order and office; these are named "spirits," also divided into two classes: the one are spirits who perform their office in the heavens, and these are entitled "the high angels;" the other class are those who perform their office upon earth, and these bear the name of "lower angels." Many thousands of them are appointed to the human race, and many thousands to minerals, to plants, and the animal kingdom. The people of the revelation (prophets) say: "There, where seven angels are not assembled, not "a leaf can germinate from a branch;" the seven angels are meant to be seven divine powers. Thus, the spirits of fire, who are called *Jin* and *Siátín*, "genii and demons," belong to the kind of lower angels, and *Iblis* is their chief and ruler. The lord Shaikh Mahmúd Shósterí says, that Iblis is the power of imagination, which the learned call "the mate- "rial." The Súfis give it the name of "the founda-

" tion of material substance," or *Enka.*[1] According to the Súfis, *matter* is *mâdum*, " not eternally ex- " istent." They call the absolute body " the uni- " versal body." The Súfis say, as is found in the *Favâtah*, that the spirit of mankind is the absolute spirit of the divinity; thus the spirit of mankind, for the sake of elocution – that is, excellence—expresses itself by sound; and sound, for the sake of elocution, by various distinct modulations, which in utterance are made sensible, becomes a word, and by the combination of words a language acquires reality. The Shaikh Muhammed *Láhaji*[2] says, in his Commentary on *Gulshen raz*,[3] " the Mystery of the Rose- " bower," that the meaning of the expression " the " divine spirit," is " the revelation of truth in the " circus of multiplicity," and in the *Sharh mahtas'er*, " abridged Commentary (epitome)" on *Gulshen*, is found that, in like manner as the spirit of mankind becomes sound, and sound a word, so also the divine

[1] See hereafter an explanatory note upon Enka.

[2] See page 141, note 3.

[3] A work already quoted (vol. I. p. 82) composed by *Mahmud Shebisteri'*. His native place was *Shebister*, distant eight parasangs (about twenty-eight miles) from Tabriz, near which place he was buried in A. D. 1320. He wrote the *Gulshen-raz* three years before his death, as an answer to fifteen questions addressed to him by the great Shaikh Hussein, of Khorassan, who died A. D. 1318, one year after the composition of the just-mentioned most celebrated didactical work upon the doctrine of the Súfis.

spirit becomes *jawher*, "substance," and substances become spirits and forms; thus human nature is determined in a manner that its hidden conditions proceed from the interior to manifestation.

The presence of the universal deity, which is expansive in the divine spirit and soul), is fivefold. The first is *hazeret ghaib mut'lak*, "the presence of "the absolute mystery," and this is one with the *aâyían sábatah*, "the invariable prototypes (realities "of things)." The second is the *hazeret ghaib mus'áf*,[1] "the presence of the relative mystery," which is nearest the absolute mystery, and this belongs to pure intellects and spirits. The third is the *hazeret musáf ghaib*,[2] "the presence of the mysterious rela- "tion," which is nearest the absolute evidence; this is the world of similitude, or dream. The fourth is the *hazeret shahádet mut'lak*,[3] "the presence of the "absolute evidence," which reaches from the centre of the earth to the middle of the ninth empyrean

[1] حضرت غیب مضاف.

[2] حضرت مضاف غیب.

[3] حضرت شهادت مطلقه. *Shaha'det*, interpreted in common acceptation by "testimony, attestation, witnessing, confession, evidence," is translated by Silvestre de Sacy, in a note of Jorjáni (see a subsequent note), by "assistance." It takes in the terminology of Súfis, a meaning varying according to the particular opinion of their sects; thus it coincides sometimes with "presence," whether with the qualifications of attentive expectation, whether with that of perfect intuition.

heaven. The fifth is the *hazerát jámâh*,[1] "the presence of the vest," and this is the universe in an extensive, and mankind in a restricted, acceptation.[2]

The Súfis besides say: The world is life and intellect, as far as the mineral kingdom; but the manifestation of intellect in every body is determined by the temperature of the human constitution. Sometimes bounty attains an excellence which is uttered with ecstacy, and becomes a modulation more powerful than that which strikes the ear: and this is the

1 حضرت جامعه.

2 This is a very abstruse doctrine. To throw more light upon it, I shall subjoin the explanation given by Jorjáni upon this subject, according to the French translation of Silvestre de Sacy (see *Not. et Ext. des MSS.*, vol. X. p. 66): "The five divine presences are: 1. *the presence of the absolute absence* (or mystery); its world is the world of *the fixed substances in the scientific presence* (see pp. 223, 224, note 2). To the presence of the absolute mystery is opposed:—2. *the presence of the absolute assistance;* its world is that named *Aalem al mulk* (that is, the world of the throne or seat of God, of the four elemental natures); 3. *the presence of the relative absence;* this is divided into two parts: the one, 3. *nearer the presence of the absolute mystery;* the world of which is that of spirits, which belong to what is called *jabrut* and *malkut*, that is, of intelligences and of bare souls; the other: 4. *nearer the presence of the absolute assistance;* and the world of which is that of models (images), called *Aalem al mulkut;* 5. the presence which comprises the four preceding ones; and its world is the world of mankind, a world which reunites all the worlds, and all they contain." This statement differs somewhat from that of our text; to exhibit and to develop, in all their variations, the systems of Súfism is far beyond the compass of these notes, and would require a separate work.

mode of the prophet (blessing upon him!). Thus is it commonly related that Jabríil brought to the blessed prophet the happy news, that his poor followers will enter heaven five hundred years sooner than the rich. The prophet, full of joy, said: "Can "none of you recite a verse?" A person proffered these distichs:

"The serpent of desire bit my heart:
"There is, to cure me, neither doctor nor magician,
"If not the friend whom I adore:
"He alone possesses the theriac and the amulet suitable to my cure."

Upon this the lord prophet, with his companions, moved about in ecstacy, with such a violence that the cloak fell from his shoulder.[1]

Further, the sagacious say that the forms of the sensible world are shades of seeming forms. The Súfis also maintain that a spirit cannot exist without a body;[2] when it breaks forth from a body, it obtains, according to its deeds and actions, an apparent body, which they call *acquired.*

[1] Such a tradition existing, we cannot wonder that, from early time to our days, among the religious practices of Durvishes, Súfis, and monastic congregations, there are different kinds of dances, accompanied by song, with or without instrumental music.

[2] The celebrated Leibnitz entertained a similar opinion; in consequence of his great principle of "*the sufficient reason,*" he was persuaded that all souls, after death, remain united to an organic whole: "Be-"cause," says he, in his *Théodicée* (§ 90), "there is no appearance, that "there be, in the order of nature, souls entirely separate from any sort "of body." —(See on this subject *La Palingénésie philosophique, par C. Bonnet*, tome II. p. 24 *et seq.*)

Section II.—Of the prophetic Office; and Explanation of the public Declarations conformable to the Revelation of inspired Persons.

The Súfis say: The prophet is a person who is sent to the people as their guide to the perfection which is fixed for them in the scientific presence (of God) according to the exigency of the dispositions determined by the fixed substances, whether it be the perfection of faith, or another. The Shaikh Hamíd eddin Nagóri [1] states, in his *Sharh-i-ashk*, "Commentary upon Love," that *Abúdíyet*, "devotion," [2]

[1] In Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* we find *Hamíd eddin*, a celebrated doctor, surnamed *al Dharír*, "the Blind," disciple of *Kerdori*, and master of *Nassafi the Younger* The latter died in the year of the Hejira 710 (A. D. 1310). Baron von Hammer, in the catalogue of the literature of the Súfis, annexed to his *Gulshen raz* (p. 32), mentions an *Ishk-namah* "Book of Love," composed by *Ferishte-oghli*.

[2] عبودیت means also "servitude, submission, pious fervour;" it is reckoned one of the most essential qualities of a saint in general. An عبد, *ábid*, is a person continually occupied with religious practices, and all sorts of supererogatory pious acts, with the view of obtaining future beatitude. It may be asked, how can devotion, as said above, be an attribute of God? The answer is that, according to Súfism, God is every thing which appears praise-worthy to man, who can never forsake his own nature. Thus says Sádi in his fifth Sermon: "A hundred "thousand souls, alas! are the devoted slaves of the shoe-dust of that Durvish (God)." He who prays from the inmost of his soul, grants his prayers to himself; he no more prays, but is the God who, at the same time, offers and accepts prayers.—(See *Sufismus*, by F. A. D. Tholuck, p. 135.

and *rubúbiyet*, "divinity,"[1] are both attributes of God; as often as the manifestation of divinity came to seize the lord of the prophetic asylum (Muhammed), and the quality of devotion became effaced in him, in this transitory state,[2] whatever he proffered was the word of God. The Máulaví Mânavi says:

"As the Koran came from the lips of the prophet,
"Whoever asserts, he said not the truth is a Kafr (infidel)."

And when he arrived at the quality of divinity, what he then uttered, this is called by them *hadís*, "sacred saying;" further, what he said with the

[1] ربوبیت signifies a participation in the nature and excellence of God, attainable by a mortal. There is a school of Súfis, called الحولیت *Alhuli'yat*, who think that deity may descend and penetrate into a mortal's mind. Muhammed is supposed to have possessed this eminent quality of a Súfi.

[2] Two technical words occur (among many others) of the Súfis حال *hal*, and مقام *maka'm*, which require a particular explanation. *Ha'l* signifies a feeling of joy or of affliction—of compression or dilatation—or of any other condition, which takes hold of the heart without any effort being made to produce or to provoke it, and which ceases when the soul reverts to the consideration of its own qualities. It is so called whether the same state be repeated or not. I generally render it by "state," above by "transitory state." If it persists and is changed into an habitual faculty, it is then called *maka'm*; I render it by "station." The *hals* are pure gifts of God; the *maka'ms* are fruits of labor. The first proceed from God's pure bounty; the second are obtained by dint of efforts. Both words may sometimes be rendered by extasy, or extatic, supernatural condition, in which the soul loses sight of itself to see God only, and which ceases, as soon as its looks are directed towards itself. —(See *Ext. et Not. des MSS.*, vol. XII. p. 317.)

tongue of divinity, was a *hadis*. The meaning of the words "from *Jabríl*" is this, that between these two qualities (devotion and divinity), is a mind which in the manifestation of divinity is giving information from divinity, but in the quality of divinity there is nothing intervening between itself:[1] hence it is said:

"In love there is no message intervening:
"It was itself which acted as its own messenger."

The sagacious Súfis say, that what causes the revelation of the original Being in the gradations of divinity and in the wisdom of a book, and his appearance in whatever form, is the manifestation of his perfection, and this is of two kinds and in a twofold degree. The first degree is manifestation and exhibition in such a manner that whatever exists may prove complete, and this can take place only in the completeness of form; it is man who, according to the terminology of this sect, is indicated by it, that is, *essentiality*, which is the union of universalities and particularities: it is said accordingly:

"There is nothing moist—there is nothing dry, that be not in the "manifest book (the Koran)." That is: Every thing is contained in the Koran.

Without him (God) there is no strength; it is by

[1] If I understand at all this obscure passage, it means: "there is an "immediate connection, without any intervention, between the Deity "and man."

him that every thing enters into the area of form and evidence.

" Without thee is nothing in the world;
" Ask from thyself, if thou desirest to know what thou art."

(ARABIC SENTENCE.)

" Every thing has an advantage, which, at the junction of its parts, " has been placed in it."

The second degree is in the perfection of the existence of forth-bringing and exhibiting; so that every thing which exists, as it exists, is made to appear complete.

The seal, or " the last prophet," in the terminology of this sect, is a person, to whom this office can be appropriated, and from whom the great business may proceed; but, in forthcoming it is not allowed to him to be, in form,[1] all-sufficient in dignity, and in showing this form in the world; this is not confined to a single person; but if this excellence is manifested around, it is acknowledged as *the seal* of dignity in this age. When this condition is established, then, by the before-said interpretation, the moon is said to be the symbol realised in this form, because, in the style of eloquence, it is generally usual to interpret the form of perfection by that of the moon, and " to divide the moon," means in figurative language to elicit thoroughly the sense

[1] *Suret* signifies the sensible form of a thing; the figure with which it is invested.

from this form, without taking into consideration the instruments of imitation and the arrangement of artful contrivances. Thus was it with regard to the promised lord of the prophetic asylum. The lord Imâm Muhammed *núrbakhsh*,[1] "the light-"bestower," in his treatise upon the ascent to heaven, stated: "Know that the lord Muhammed, the Selected (peace be with him!) ascended to heaven with a body, but this body was light, like that assumed in a dream, with which he went into a state of trance, which is an intermediate state[2] between sleeping and waking, and on that account it is said in the first tradition of the ascent:

"I was between sleeping and waking."

And further:

"God directed thee in the explanation of things revealed to the pro-"phets and saints, upon whom be peace!"

That his being carried from the mosque of Mecca to the mosque of Jerusalem, is an image of the migra-

[1] *Mîr Said Muhammed Nurbaksh* was the assumed name of *Shams-eddin*, a descendant from a Guebre family of Irâk. He fixed himself in Kachmir, where he became the founder of a sect which acknowledged him as a prophet and a *Mahdi*, and took from him the name of *Nur-bakshian*. — (See *Journal des Savants. avril* 1840; *article de M. Mohl sur l'Histoire de Ferishta.*)

[2] The word here used by the author is برزخ *barzakh*, "interval of "time, according to the Koran (chap. XXIII) between the death of a man "and the resurrection, before which the souls of the departed receive "neither reward nor punishment."

tion of the terrestrial angels from one place to another. To keep the Imámate (or presidence) during worship is to the prophet an image, that in his religion there are many heirs of the prophet, who are the saints and learned men of the age.

Borák, the vehicle of devotion, is like an image of prayer; the saddle and bridle represent the ready mind and the perfect union of religion. The members of Borák, of precious jewels, typify purity, candor, affection, submission, humility, and perfect love of God, rejecting all other desire except that tending towards the supreme Being in prayer. The restiveness of Borak, and the aid given by Jabríil in mounting Borák present a similitude of the reluctance of the human mind to the wisdom of its knowledge of God, and Jabríil figures the science of divinity.

The *travelling by steps up to heaven*, means the gradual elevation by steps, which are remembrance, rosary-beads, praising and magnifying by exclamation, God and the like, by which the heart arrives from this nether world of sensuality to the upper world.

By *the first heaven*, which is that of the moon, is understood the arrival at the station of cordiality. The opening of the heavenly door by an angel, and the appearance of Jabríil, is figuratively the victory of the heart over remembrance, as will be explained

in the sequel. The arriving at the heaven of *Atárod*, "Mercury," is the image of elevation on the regions of cordiality on account of meditation on the knowledge of God, as—

"One hour's meditation is preferable to seventy years of exterior "worship."

The arrival at the heaven of *Zaherah*, "Venus," signifies elevation of the upper angels, on account of the delight and beatitude which are produced in the interior by the love of God. The arrival at the heaven of the *sun* is to be interpreted as the elevation in the inner sense, on account of accomplishing the precepts of the faith, and the promulgated orders, which are derived from it. The arrival at the heaven of *Merikh*, "Mars," denotes the elevation which may have taken place in consequence of the war made upon the spirit of fraud. The arrival at the heaven of *Mishteri*, "Jupiter," offers an image of the elevation on account of purity, piety, and abstinence from any thing doubtful, which are manifested by these steps. The arrival at the heaven of *Zchel*, "Saturn," is to be understood as the elevation from the state of spirituality to that of mystery by the blessing of exertion and sanctity, by choice or by force, which means overcoming a difficulty.

The arrival at *Falek sábetah*, "the heaven of the "*fixed stars*," is an image of the elevation by the blessing of firmness in the faith, and evident proof

of diligent permanency in good practices, and fidelity in the love of God and of the people of God. The arrival at *Falek atlas*, " the *crystalline sphere*," is to be interpreted as the elevation to the utmost boundary of the angels by the blessing of interior purity, and a heart free from all desire except that after God.

The *remaining behind of Boráh*, the *arch*, and *Jabríil*, in each station indicate the meaning, that in the worlds of the upper spirits, and the empyreal heaven, there are certain extents of spiritual faculties, and limits of imagination, so that no body can deviate from the station of comprehension, and

" The place of his acquisition is a place known."

The explanation of this is, that, as the elemental body cannot deviate from the elemental world, and the soul, however composed it may be, cannot make a step out of the nether dominion, as well as the heart cannot leave the outer skirts of the upper angelic courts, so that the mystery never comes forth from the middle of the upper dominion, and the spirit cannot make a step out of the extreme ends of the upper regions into the *âalem-i-jabrút*, " the " highest empyreal heaven," and the hidden cannot transgress the empyreal world. Hence proceeds the sense of *ghaib al ghaiyâb*, " evanescence of eva- " nescences," the *mysterious* hidden.

The *Enka*, upon the mount *Kâf*,[1] is divinity, and there is annihilation into God. He does not allow

[1] We have already mentioned (vol. I. p. 55. note 1) the *Enka*, or *Simurgh*, "thirty birds," as an object of fabulous romance. At one time this mysterious bird was counsellor of the Jins (genii), and for the last time was visible at the court of Solomon, the son of David, after which he retired to the mount *Kaf*, which encircles the earth. According to a tradition of Muhammed, God created, in the time of Moses, a female bird, called *Enka*, having wings on each side and the face of a man. God gave it a portion of every thing, and then created a male of the same species. They propagated after the death of Moses, feeding on ferocious beasts and carrying away children, until the intervening time between Jesus and Muhammed, when, at the prayer of Khaled, this race was extinguished. Proverbially, the Enka is mentioned as a thing of which every body speaks without having ever seen it.

But a much greater import is attached to this name in the doctrine of the Sufis: with them this bird is nothing less than the emblem of the supreme Being, to be sought with the utmost effort and perseverance through innumerable difficulties which obstruct the road to his mysterious seat. This idea was ingeniously allegorized in the famous poem entitled *Mantek al tair*, "the colloquy of the birds," composed by *Ferideddin Attar*, a Persian poet, who was born in Kerken, a village near Nishapûr, in the year of the Hejira 513 (A. D. 1119), and lived 110, 112, or 115 years, having died in A. H. 627, 629, or 632 (A. D. 1229, 1231, or 1234). In this composition, the birds, emblems of souls, assemble under the conduct of a hoop (*upapa*), their king, in order to be presented to Simurgh. To attain his residence, seven valleys are to be traversed; these are: 1. the valley of research; 2. that of love; 3. that of knowledge; 4. of sufficiency (competence); 5. of unity; 6. of stupefaction; and 7. that of poverty and annihilation, beyond which nobody can proceed; every one finds himself attracted without being able to advance. These are evidently as many gradations of contemplative life, and austere virtue, each of which is described in glowing terms, for which scarce an equivalent is to be found in European languages. The birds, having attained the residence of Simurgh, were at first ordered back by the usher of the royal court, but, as they persevered in their desire, the violence of

plurality nor partnership of eternal beauty and strength, and from that exalted station there is no descent. When a bird or man is annihilated, a name is always without a designate object. *Vás el*, " the perfect master of union,"[1] finds in this sta-

their grief met with pity. Admitted to the presence of Simurgh, they heard the register of their faults committed towards him read to them, and, sunk in confusion, were annihilated. But this annihilation purified them from all terrestrial elements; they received a new life from the light of majesty; in a new sort of stupefaction, all they had committed during former existence was cancelled, and disappeared from their hearts; the sun of approximation consumed, but a ray of this light revived them. Then they perceived the face of Simurgh: " When they threw a clandes- " tine look upon him, they saw thirty birds in him, and when they " turned their eyes to themselves, the thirty birds appeared one Simurgh: " they saw in themselves the entire Simurgh; they saw in Simurgh the " thirty birds entirely." They remained absorbed in this reflection. Having then asked the solution of the problem *We* and *Thou*, that is, the problem of apparent identity of the divinity and his adorers, they received it, and were for ever annihilated in Simurgh: the shade vanished in the sun.—(See *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. XII. pp. 306–312).

According to the thirty-seventh and last allegory of *Azz-eddin Elmocadessi*, an Arabian poet, who died in A. H. 678 (A. D. 1280), the assembled birds resolved to pass a profound sea, elevated mountains, and consuming flames, to arrive at a mysterious island where *Simurgh* or *Enka maghreb*, " the wonderful," resided, whom they wished to choose for their king. After having supported the fatigues, and surmounted the difficulties and perils of their voyage, they attained their aim, a delightful sojourn, where they found every thing that may captivate the senses. But when they offered their homage to Simurgh, he at first refused them, but having tried their perseverance in their attachment to him, he at last gratified their desire, and granted them ineffable beatitude. —(See *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*, Arabic text and French translation, by M. Garcin de Tassy, pp. 119, etc., and notes, p. 220).

The Súfis are divided into three great classes, to wit: 1. واصلان

tion by annihilation into God emancipation from the confinement of visible existence, and acquires with an eternal mansion the intimate connection with God, and an exit from the garment of servitude, and becomes endowed with divine qualities. In the station of transition into God, Jabríl is the image of wisdom and of manifest knowledge, on which account it has been declared—

"There are moments when I am with God in such a manner that neither angel nor archangel, prophet nor apostle, can attain to it."

When at the time of transition, science, comprehension, knowledge, and all qualities are cancelled and vanish, then transitory knowledge unites with the perfect science, the dangers of mankind are carried off and disappear, before the rays of light of the supreme Being. And this is the kind of knowledge which Jabríl revealed. Above this station resides the absolute Being. Again, ascent and descent, and letter and sound denote the meaning that mankind comprises all qualities—the high and the

va'sila'n, "those who arrived (at the desired end)," the nearest to God; 2. سالکان *sa'likan*, "the travellers, the progressive;" 3. مقیمان *muki'ma n*, "the stationaries."—According to others (see Graham, Transact. of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay, vol. I. pp. 99. 100), a Súfí may be: 1. a *salik*, "traveller;" 2. a مجذوب *majezub*, "one attracted in a state of "intoxication from the wine of divine love;" 3. a *majezub salik*, "an "attracted traveller," that is, a partaker of the above two states. I omit other divisions and subdivisions.

low; by the exigency of its united properties, at times drowned in the ocean of unity, man is bewildered; and, at times, yielding to this prevailing nature, he associates with women. Know what Shaikh Aziz Nasfy says: Men, devoted to God's unity declared, regarding the expression *tái asmavat*, "the folding up heaven," that "heaven" signifies something that is high and of a bountiful expansion[1] with respect to those who are below it, and this, causing a bountiful communication, may take place either in the spiritual or in the material world; the bestower of the bountiful communication may be from the latter, he may be from the former, world. Further, any thing may be either *terrestrial* or *heavenly*. If thou hast well conceived the sense of the heavenly and terrestrial, know that mankind has four *nishá*, "stages,"[2] in like manner as the blasts of the trumpet are four times repeated: because death and life have four periods. In the first stage, man is living under the form of a thing; but, with respect to qualities and reason, he is a dead thing. In the second stage, under the form of mind, he is a living thing, but, with respect to qualities and reason, a dead thing. In the third stage, under the

[1] فيض Silvestre de Sacy translates "emanation, overflowing."—(*Journal des Savans, déc.*, 1821, p. 733.)

[2] نشا is interpreted in the dictionary: growing, producing, being borne upward, etc.; above it can but signify "a condition of being."

form of mind, qualities he is a living thing, but, with respect to reason, a dead thing. In the fourth stage, under the form of mind, qualities, and reason, he is a living thing. In the first stage, he is entirely in the sleep of ignorance, darkness, and stupidity, as

"Darkness upon darkness——"

In this stage he awakes from the first sleep; in the second stage, from the second; in the third, from the third sleep; in the fourth stage, from the last sleep; and in this awaking of the heart he becomes thoroughly and entirely awake, and acquires perfect possession of himself, and knows positively that all he had known in the three preceeding stages was not so: because truth, having been but imaginary, was falsehood; and that heaven and earth, as they had been understood before, were not so. Further, in this stage, earth will not be that earth, and heaven not that heaven, which men knew before. This is the meaning of the words:

"On the day when the earth shall be changed into something else "than the earth, as well as the heaven, and when all that shall be mani- "fested by the power of God, the only one, the Almighty."[1]

And when they arrived at that station and possessed positively the form of mind, qualities, and reason of an individual, certainly they knew by

[1] Koran.

means of revelation and inspiration, that except one there is no being, and this being is God, the glorious and sublime; they were informed of the real state of things from the beginning to the utmost extremity. In the account concerning the obscuration of the moon, and sun, and stars, they said: that stars have their meaning from the beginning of the light, which is produced in the hearts of the intelligent and select; that the sun denotes the utmost fulness and universality of light; and that the moon, a mediator between the sun and the star,[1] from all sides, spreads their tidings. Then the sun is the universal bestower of abundant blessings; the moon is in one respect "a benefactor," in another respect, "benefitted." As often as the sun's light, which is the universal light, manifests and spreads itself, unity of light comes forth; the light of the moon and that of the stars is effaced by the light of the sun. From the beginning, the prophet says, that—

"When the stars shall fall,

And in the midst,

"When the moon shall be obscured,"

And when the select associate with the bestower of abundant blessings, that

"When the sun and moon shall unite,"

[1] In the Desâtir the moon is called "the key of heaven."

there remains no trace of *istifáset*, "diffusion," nor of *afáset*,[1] "profusion."

"When the sun shall be folded up."

It was said that the earth of the last judgment signifies that earth on which the creatures of the world will be assembled, and that earth is the existing mankind, because the permanence of all beings is not possible upon any other earth. Further, there will be the day of the last judgment, and the presence of the inhabitants of the world is not intended, nor possible, upon any other earth but the actual earth of mankind. Moreover there will be Friday,[2] and truth will be separated from falsehood upon no other earth but upon the earth of the actual mankind. Then, there will be the day of the last judgment, and no mystery among mysteries will be manifested upon any other earth but that of actual mankind. Afterwards, there will be the day of ripping open the secrets, and upon no earth will a retribution be given to any body but upon the earth of the actual mankind. Finally, there will be the day of faith.

The lord durvish Sabjány gave the information, saying: With the Súfi's heaven is beauty; certainly the other world of objects of beauty is to be referred to the beauty of God; and in hell there is ma-

[1] استفاضت and افاضت.

[2] The weekly holiday of the Muhammedans.

jesty;[1] necessarily the other world of objects of majesty is referrible to that of God; and the *Jelálian*, or "those to whom majesty applies," will be satisfied in like manner as the *Jemálian*, "those to whom beauty "appertains."[2] Further, it is said, hell is the place of punishment; this means that if an object of beauty be joined to majesty, it becomes disturbed; in like manner majesty is made uneasy by beauty. From the lord Sabjáni comes also the information that the

[1] جلال *jela'l*, "glory, majesty." I suppose "terrific majesty" may be understood. We find, in Richardson's Dictionary, that a sect called *Jela'li'yat*, followers of *Said Jela'l Bokhari*, worship the more terrible attributes of the deity.

[2] This is an obscure passage. Silvestre de Sacy (*Journal des Savants, janvier*, 1822, p. 13) says: "I see by the Dabistán that, by means of "allegory, the Súfis destroy the dogma of eternal punishment, as they "destroy what concerns Paradise; but this subject is touched upon but "in a superficial manner in the Dabistán, p. 486. * * * * I confess, "as to the rest, that I have not yet formed to myself a very clear idea of "this theory." He subjoins the following note: "Paradise, according "to the Dabistán is, with the Súfis, 'the beauty of God,' جمال *jemal*, "and hell, 'the glory,' جلال *jelal;* men who, by their conduct, belong "to the last attribute of the divinity, which is designated under the "name of hell; that is the جلالیان *jela lian*, find pleasure in it, and "when it is said that hell is a place of torment, this means that those "who belong to the attribute of beauty, the جمالیان *jemali'an*, would "be unfortunate, if they should be placed in the situation of those who "belong to the attribute of glory, the جلالیان; the same would be the "case with those who belong to the attribute of glory, or to hell, if they "should experience the destiny of those who belong to the attribute of "beauty, or of Paradise."

sagacious declare: Phârâoh was worthy of the name of God, and in him the establishment of divinity gained predominance, as well as in Moses the establishment of divine mission. On that account the lord Imám of the professors of divine unity, the Shaikh *Mahi-eddin* gave in several of his compositions the proof of Pharáoh's faith, and declared him to be a worthy object *of veneration*, as well as Moses. It is said also, that the land of Arafat [1] signifies the land, which is sought by those who made a vow, and conceived the desire, of pilgrimage, and with their face turned towards this land, with the utmost effort and endeavor proceed upon their way and journey; if in this country they meet with the day of *Arirfah*, that is, "the ninth day of the moon," and accomplish the pilgrimage, they are then considered as having become pilgrims, and to have

[1] Arafat is a mountain not far from Mecca. Muhammedans believe that Adam and Eve, having been separated to perform penance, searched for each other during a hundred and twenty or two hundred years, until at last they met again upon the mountain *Arafah*, the name of which is derived from the Arabian verb "to know" This is one of the etymologies of this name; I omit others relating to Abraham (see D'Ohsson, t. II. pp. 83–86). This mountain, in the pilgrimage to Mecca, is one of the principal sacred stations, which the pilgrims cannot enter without having taken the *Ihhram*, or "penitential veil," on the first day of the moon *Zi'lhajah* (the last of the Arabian year); on the 9th day of the same month, called also *yum-Arafah*, "the day of knowledge," they arrive at Arafah, where they perform their devotions until after sunset, and then proceed to Mecca to execute the sacred rites mentioned pp. 408–409, note 2.

found the fruit of their journey, and fulfilled their desire, as is said:

"He who reaches the mount Arafah has accomplished the pilgrimage."

If they have not arrived in this land on the said day, they have not accomplished the pilgrimage, they have not become pilgrims nor fulfilled their desire. If this matter be well understood, it necessarily follows that the land of Arifát signifies the actual earth of mankind, because all beings, heavenly and earthly, are upon the way of travelling, until they arrive at the dignity of mankind, and when they arrive at it, their journey and voyage is accomplished. If on this earth, which is that of the actual mankind, they arrive on the day of Aráfat, which means the knowledge of God, they have attained their wish at the Kâbah, they have accomplished their pilgrimage, and become pilgrims.

Haj, in the Dictionary, is interpreted *kas'ed*, "aspiring to," and *kas'ed*, in the law, means the house which Ibrahim the prophet (the blessing of God be upon him!) built in Mecca, and, in truth, this means the house of God, according to these words:

"Neither the earth nor the heavens can contain me, but only the heart of the believing servant."

Besides, the Mobed says:

"At the time of prayer the dignity of man is shown;
"Profit by this time, as perhaps fate may seize it."

The sagacious Súfís said: Every action of the

actions commanded by law denotes a mystery of the mysteries. *Ghasel*, "bathing," means coming forth by resignation from foreign dependence. *Was'u*, "ablution," indicates abandonment of great occupations. *Mazmaza*, "rinsing the mouth," refers to the rapture caused by the sweetness of remembrance. *Istinsak*,[1] "washing the nostrils three "times, by inhaling water out of the palm of the "hand," denotes inhaling the perfumes of divine bounty. *Istinsar*, "drawing up water through the "nostrils and discharging it again," signifies throwing off blameable qualities. *Washing the face*, has the meaning of turning our face to God. *Washing the hand* is withholding the hand from prohibited things. *Washing the feet* has reference to giving precedence to diligence upon the carpet of devotion. *Standing upright* signifies experience in the earthly station. *To be turned towards the Kiblah* is a sign of offering supplications to the divine majesty. *Joining both hands* denotes the bond of an obligatory engagement. *Keeping the hands open during prayers* means holding back the hand from all except what relates to God. The *Takbir*,[2] "pious exclamation,"

[1] See D'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, tom. II. p. 16.

[2] The *Takbir* consists of these words: *Allah 'u akbar, Allah 'u akbar, la ilahi ill' Allah, Allah 'u akbar, Allah 'u akbar, va l'illah 'il hamd*, "God, most high! God, most high! there is no God but God! God most

signifies respect to divine commands. *Kerát*, *chanting* (the Koran or prayers), is perusing the divine signets upon the tables of fate, preserved in the heart by means of the interpretation of the tongue, and the renewal of information upon the boundaries of commanded and prohibited things. *Rukuâ*, "bowing the head with the hands upon the knees," represents the state of resignation and submission. *Sajúd*, "prostration,"[1] indicates investigation of the divine Being, and dismissal of all pretension. *Tashahhud*, "ritual profession of religion," refers to the state of resignation and humility. *To sit down and to stand up before God five times* means understanding and appreciating the five majesties, which are: divinity, grandeur, dominion, power, and love of humanity. *Two rikâts*,[2] "attitudes of devotion in

"high! God most high! praises belong to God.—(D'Ohsson, vol. II. p. 77).

[1] The prostration is made with the face to the earth, that is, the knees, toes, hands, nose, and forehead touching the ground. During the prostration the *takbir* is recited.

[2] Several prescribed attitudes and practices constitute the *namaz*, or "prayer:"—1. The Muselman stands upright, his hands raised to the head, the fingers separated, and the thumbs applied to the inferior part of the ears; 2. he places his hands joined upon the navel; 3. bows the upper part of his body, and, the hands upon his knees, keeps it horizontally inclined; 4. places himself in the second attitude; 5. prostrates himself as described in the preceding note; 6. raises the upper part of his body, and, kneeling, sits upon his legs, the hands placed upon his thighs; 7. makes a second prostration; 8 rises, and stands as in the second attitude. These eight attitudes, during which he recites several times the

" the morning," are indicative of God's absolute being and of reality. *Four rikâts* relate to four effulgencies, which are impressiveness, agency, inherence of attributes, and substantiality. *Three rikâts*, imply separation, union, and union of unions, viz.: *separation*, in viewing the creatures without God; *union*, in viewing God without the creatures; and *union of unions*, in viewing God in the creatures, and the creatures in God; so that the view of the one may not to the heart be a veil to the view of the other. *Keeping the fast* refers to the purity of the interior. *The sight of halâl*, " the new moon,"[1] is seeing the eye-brows of the perfect spiritual guide.

before-quoted *takbir*, form a *rikât*.—(See D'Ohsson, vol. II. pp. 77 *et seq.*

[1] The apparition of the new moon is to the Muhammedans an important phenomenon, as it marks the beginning of their fasts, feasts, and other religious practices, which, to be valid, must be observed exactly at the prescribed time. On that account, the magistrates in the Musulman empire are attentive to announce the right epoch; the *Muezins*, or " cryers," of the highest mosques, at the approach of the new moon pass the whole night on the top of the minarets to observe the precise moment. Thus, the fast of the *Ramazan*, which lasts thirty days, begins at the apparition of the new moon; the commencement of the moons *Shewel* and *Zilhijah* are important for the celebration of the two only feasts in the Muhammedan year: the first is the *âid-fitr*, " the feast of breaking " fast," which occupies one or three days, and seventy days after this is the *âid-kurban*, " the feast of sacrifice," which lasts four days: thus the grave Muselmans allow but seven days of their whole year to festivity. As their years are lunar, these two feasts run in the space of thirty-three years through all the seasons of the year.—(D'Ohsson, tome II. p. 227; tome III. pp. 4–5, and elsewhere.)

Aïd, "a feast," is the knowledge of God. *Kurban*, "sacrificing"[1] (killing victims), denotes annihilating the brutal spirit. *Rozah*, "fasting,"[2] has three degrees. The first degree is guarding the belly and the sexual organs from what is improper; the second degree is guarding one's self from unbecoming words and deeds; the third degree is guarding the heart from whatever is contrary to God. *Jahad*, "holy war upon unbelievers," signifies combating the spirit of deceit. *Mûmen*, "right faith," implies adherence to whatever is essential to the true worship of God, and tendency to it by any way which God wills, for—

"The road towards the idols is formed of the great number of sighs of "the creatures."

The lord *Aïn ul-Kazat* said, he has learned upon

[1] The immolation of an animal in honor of the Eternal on the prescribed day is of canonical obligation: every Muselman, free, settled, and in easy circumstances, is bound to offer in sacrifice a sheep, an ox, or a camel. Several persons, to the number of seven, may associate for such a purpose. To this is added the distribution of alms to the poor, consisting of killing one or more animals, sheep, lambs, goats, to be dressed, a part of which is tasted by the sacrificer and his family, and the rest given to the poor. (*Ibid.*, t. II. p. 425.

[2] Fasting, with the Muhammedans, imposes an entire abstinence from all food whatever, and a perfect continence during the whole day from the first canonical hour of morning, which begins at day-break, until sunset. There are different sorts of fasts; canonical, satisfactory, expiatory, votive, and supererogatory. Each of them, although determined by different motives, requires, nevertheless, the same abstinence during the whole day.—(*Ibid.*, t. III. p. 1).

his way, that the essence of all creeds is God, and that of all creeds of the sophists is this:

"All shall perish except his countenance (that is God's); all that is "upon the earth is perishable."

And the meaning of the verse of the merciful is, that at a certain time he will be nothing, because on that very day all is nothing; and this very opinion is the principal part of the creed of sharp-sighted men. In the *takwiyat mâni*, "the strengthening of "sense," the lord *Aín ul Kazat*, *saheb-i zúki*, "pos-"sessor of delight," said that the mood of the verbal noun is in progressive efficiency at all times, whilst perdition of all things at all times is also constant, but has no determined future time: consequently this perdition, which is an indetermined tense, does not imply that the contingent efficiency is perdition in a future time.

The Imám *Muhammed Núr bakhsh* stated, that all those who are reckoned to have seen God as particular servants near to him, have said the truth; because the rational spirit, which means that of mankind, is pure and uncompounded; on that account it is not prevented from seeing God, and those who speak against the sight are also right, because the eye cannot see the mysterious blessed Being on account of his solitude. An investigator of truth has said: Those who assert the solitude of God are right: because the blessed Being is solitary.

And those who speak of his corporeity, and consider God as one of the bodies, such as fire, air, water, or earth, say right, because he is in every sort of beings. Likewise, those who hold him to be good or bad, are not wrong; because nothing exists without him, so that what happens can happen but by his order. And those who ascribe the bad to themselves are right, because in practice they are the movers of their works. So it is with other opinions, such as those who consider God as a Father with regard to all existing beings, and this opinion is true.

The Sonnites recognise Abu Bekr (may God reward him), as a khalif on the strength of his perfection: this is sufficiently founded. But the Shíâhs oppose that on the supposition of his deficiencies. Besides, every body may, conformably to his own conceptions, have some objection to Abu Bekr. In the same manner, concerning the future state, there are contradictory creeds of nations, and histories of their princes in the world adopted as certain. All these contradictions of the inhabitants of this world are to be considered in this point of view—that they are *more or less* belonging to truth.

The Súfís maintain that *vilayet*, "holiness,"[1] in

[1] A possessor of velayet, a *veli*, "a saint," according to Jámi (in the Lives of Súfís) is destined to serve as an instrument for manifesting the proof of prophetic mission. Extraordinary powers over all nature are

the Dictionary signifies vicinity (to God), and in the public circle to be chosen by the people of God, is evident prophetic mission, and interior faith is incitement to prophecy; the prophet is its faith, and the incitement of the faith of a saint is the mission of a prophet, and the faith of an apostle is the completion of the apostleship. Inspiration takes place without the intervention of an angel, and revelation with the intervention of an angel is the revelation appropriate to the prophet. Inspiration is also appropriate to him.

The pious Sajan Sajání says, the perfection of sanctity is the period of a *Mahdí*'s time; hence all those among the saints who claimed the dignity of a Mahdi, were divine. In the same manner as every

ascribed to such a man. According to the *Kashef ul mahjub*, "the revelations of the veiled being," composed by Shaikh *Ali Osman Ben Ebil-Ali el Ghaznavi*, there are four thousand saints in the world, walking separate from each other upon the ways of God. Among these, the first three hundred are called *Akhyar*, "the best;" the next four hundred are the *Abdal*, commonly called "Santons;" after them seven hundred *Ebrar*, "just men;" further, four hundred *Awtad*, "posts or stakes;" finally, three hundred *Nukeba*, "chosen." According to the author of *Futuhat-i-Mekki*, "the revelations of Mecca," that is, Mahi-eddin Muhammed, before-mentioned (p. 334, note 1), there exist at any time seven *Abdal*, or Saints, who preside the seven terrestrial zones, or climates. Each of them, in his climate, corresponds to one of the seven prophets in the following order: Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Edris, Joseph, Jesus, and Adam, who reside as we have said (see pp. 186–89, notes 2. 1. 1. 2. 3, 1. 2.) in so many heavenly spheres. To the said Abdal belong the *Oweis*, that is the great shaikhs, and pious men who, nourished in the prophet's lap, are never tainted by age.

malady of the body has a curative medicine, so every malady of the spirit has also its means of cure. Thus, as the pulse and the urine are indicative of the state of bodies, so dream and vision indicate the state of the spirit. On that account, the devotees relate the visions to their Shaíkh, who is the doctor of the soul.

The Súfís say, that upon the way of pilgrimage there are seven *mertebah*, "degrees." The first degree consists of penitence, obedience, and meditation, and in this degree the light is, as it were, green. The second degree is *the purity of the spirit* from satanic qualities, violence, and brutality; because, as long as the spirit is the slave of satanic qualities, it is subject to concupiscence, and this is the quality of fire. In this state Iblis evinces his strength, and when the spirit is liberated from this, it is distressed with the quality of fierceness, which may be said *flashing*, and this is conformable to the property of wind. Then it becomes insatiable,[1] and this is similar to water. After this it obtains quietness, and this quality resembles earth.[2] In the degree of repose, the light is as it were blue, and the utmost

[1] The text has ملهم *malhamah*, which means "gluttonous, eager "after any thing to excess;" if *mulhim*, it means "inspired."

[2] The ecstatic conditions desired by the Súfís are attainable only in a perfect apathy, that is, in a cessation of all action of the corporeal organs and intellectual faculties.

reach of one's progress is the earthly dominion. The third degree is *the manifestation of the heart*, by laudable qualities, which is similar to red light, and the utmost reach of its progress is the middle of the upper dominion; and in this station the heart praises God, and sees the light of worship and spiritual qualities. With the pure Súfís, "the heart" signifies the form of moderation which keeps the mind in such dispositions that it may not at all be inclined to any side towards excess and redundancy, and the possessor of his mind whose fortunate lot is such a station, is praised as "the master of the heart," or "the lord of the mind." The fourth degree is the *applying of the constitution to nothing else but to God*, and this is similar to yellow light, and the utmost reach of its progress is the midst of the heavenly *malkut*, "dominion." The fifth degree of the soul is that *which resembles white light*, and the utmost aim of its progress is the extreme heavenly dominion. The sixth degree is *the hidden*, which is like a black light,[1] and the utmost reach of its progress is the *álemi jabrút*, "the world of power." The seventh degree is *ghaiyúb al ghaiyúb*, "the evanescence of evanes-

[1] According to the Dict., *Ferhengi Shuuri* (vol. II. p. 430, edit. of Constantinople) the seven heavens mentioned in these pages as habitations of the perfect are called *Heft-aureng*, "seven thrones" (a name commonly given to the seven stars of the Great Bear); they have seven colors, the highest is the black.

" cence,"[1] which is *fanâ*, " annihilation," and *baka*, " eternal life," and is colorless; this is absorption in God, non-existence, and effacement of the imaginary in the true being, like the loss of a drop of water in the ocean; and " eternal life" is the union of the drop with the sea, and abstraction from all except the proper view of the heart, or separation from the idle images which prevented the *salik*, " tra- " veller," in the midst of existence from distinguishing the drop from the ocean. *Fanâ*, " annihila- " tion," is of two kinds: partial, and universal. The partial consists in this: that a traveller is effaced at once, or that, by gradation, several of his members are effaced, and then the rest of his members. The senses and faculties pass first through the exigency of *sukr*, " intoxication," and, secondly, through that of *sahu*, " recovery from ebriety." The universal annihilation consists in this: that all existences belonging to the worlds of *malik*, *malkut*,

[1] غيوب الغيوب. Silvestre de Sacy translates it, *la disparition de la disparition*, " the disappearance of disappearance," that is to say, *perfect absorption*. We have (pp. 238-9, note 1) met with the term *hazeret*. " presence," which is a qualification either of attentive expectation, or perfect intuition; opposite to this we find *ghaib*, " absence, disappearance, " evanescence:" this is a station attainable only to a *vali*, " saint," by means of *jamah*, " union," when he sees nothing else but God and his unity; this station coalesces with *fanâ*, " annihilation," when his personal existence is withdrawn from his eyes, and he acquires *baka*, " eter- " nal and sole life with and in God."

and *jabrút*, "of the angels, of dominion, and "power," are effaced at once, or by gradation: first, the three kingdoms of nature are effaced; then the elements; further the heavens; afterwards, *malkut*, "dominion;" finally, *jabrut*, "power." Proceeding, the traveller experiences first the exigency of a sudden manifestation[1] of majesty, and, secondly, that of beauty.

The author of this book heard from the durvish Sabjání, that what the prophet has revealed, viz.: "*that earth and heaven will go to perdition,*" signifies "annihilation," not as people take it in the common acceptation, but in a higher sense, "annihilation in "God;" so that God with all his attributes manifests itself to the pious person, who becomes entirely annihilated. Eternal life, which is the opposite of

[1] The word used in the original is تجلی *tajeli'*, signifying here properly "a sudden burst upon the eyes, a transitory vision." This word occurs, evidently with this meaning, in the following passage of Sàdi's *Gulistan*, "Rose-garden," (chap. II. tale 9), which at the same time elucidates the state of the Súfi above alluded to: "The vision (of God) which "the pious enjoy, consists of manifestation and occultation; it shows "itself, and vanishes from our looks,"—Verse. *Thou showest thy countenance and thou concealest it. Thou enhancest thy value and sharpenest our fire. When I behold thee without an intervention, it affects me in such a manner that I lose my road. It kindles a flame, and then quenches it by sprinkling water; on which account you see me sometimes in ardent flames, sometimes immersed in the waves.*

There are different sorts of تجلیات *tajeli'at*, "manifestations," and whenever the mystic has attained the first degrees of such divine favors, he receives no more his subsistence but by supernatural ways.

annihilation, has also four divisions. The first degree is eternal existence with God, when the pious person from the absorption in God returns, and sees himself *âyin vajud*, " a real being," endowed with all qualities—

" Who has seen himself, saw God."

If in absorption he keeps consciousness, there remains duality behind.

In the abridged commentary upon *Gulshen raz*, it is stated, that there are four kinds of manifestations. The first is *âsârî*, " impression," by which the absolute being appears under the form of some corporeal beings, among which the human form is the most perfect. The second kind is *Afâalî*, " belonging to " action," when the contemplative person sees the absolute being endowed with several attributes of action, such as creator, or nourisher, and the like, or sees himself a being endowed with one of the attributes. The manifestations are frequently colored with lights, and exhibit all sorts of tints. The third kind is *sifâtî*, " belonging to attributes," when the contemplative person sees the absolute being endowed with the attributes of his own essence, such as science and life, or sees himself a real being, endowed with these attributes. The fourth kind is *zatî*, " essence," in which, on account of manifestation, annihilation takes place, so that the possessor of this manifestation participates in a condition in

which no trace of himself remains, and no consciousness whatever is preserved. It is not necessary that the manifestation be colored in a vest of light, or that every light be a light of manifestation. It may happen that a light proceeds from a prophet, a saint, or a creature. The symptom of manifestation is annihilation, or the science (that is intimate knowledge) of the object manifested at the time of manifestation. The evidence for the truth of manifestations is derived from the Koran, or from traditions.

"I am God, the Lord of creatures."

Moses heard the voice from a bush,[1] and the chosen prophet said:

"I saw my Lord under the most excellent form."

[1] The bush from whence Moses heard the voice of God is mentioned in the Commentary upon the Koran in the following manner. Moses, travelling with his family from Midian to Egypt, came to the valley of Towa, situated near mount Sinai; his wife fell in labor and was delivered of a son, in a very dark and snowy night; he had also lost his way, and his cattle was scattered from him, when on a sudden he saw a fire by the side of a mountain, which on his nearer approach he found burning in a *green bush*. The Koran (chap. XX. vv. 9–14) says: "When he saw fire "and said to his family: Tarry ye here, for I perceive fire: peradven- "ture I may bring you a brand thereout, or may find a direction in our "way by the fire. And when he was come near unto it, a voice called "unto him, saying: O Moses! verily I am thy Lord: wherefore put off "thy shoes: for thou art in the sacred valley Towa. And I have chosen "thee: therefore hearken with attention unto that which is revealed unto "thee. Verily I am God; there is no God beside me: wherefore worship "me, and perform thy prayer in remembrance of me."

The writer of these pages heard from the durvish Sabjáni that the Hindus and other nations, having formed and adored as Gods various different images, this is founded upon the fact, that eminent persons among them were impressed with manifestations; and in such a manner the ten ávatárs became the counterfeits of these manifestations; some of the ávatárs held themselves to be divinities, because they have been the masters of these manifestations; that the Jews and other nations acknowledge God under bodily forms proceeds from the like manifestations. Besides, that Pharâoh declared himself to be a God, comes from a like manifestation :[1] because Pharáoh, under his own form had seen God; on that account the lord Imám Múheddín Shaikh Mahíeddín, in some of his compositions, exhibited proofs of Pharâoh's religion, and rendered this personage

[1] The name of Pharâoh occurs several times in this work; but the character of this personage is viewed in a different light by the sectarians of Muhammedism. In the Koran he appears nearly as in the Bible of the Jews, with regard to Moses and the Israelites, cruel, tyrannical, presumptuous, and perishing in the Red Sea: not without having before acknowledged their God, and confessed his sins. But some Súfis see and admire in the impious daring of Pharâoh the omnipotence of his power, and adduce, in favor of their opinion, passages from some of their most celebrated philosophers. Indeed Jelaleddin represents Pharâoh equal to Moses. Sahel Ibn Abd-ullah of Shostr says, that the secret of the soul was first revealed when Pharâoh declared himself a God. Ghazâli sees in his temerity nothing else but the most noble aspiration to the divine, innate in the human mind.

illustrious. Moses saw God under a bodily form, and did not find himself like that (exalted) being; but it was under his own form that Pharâoh saw God, and found himself like that being. Jesus declared himself the son of God; because he found himself the son of God Almighty, in a like manifestation.

Hajab, " the veil,[1] is of two kinds: the one, of darkness, is that of a servant, like morality and exterior occupations; and the other is the veil of light which comes from God; because traditions are veils of actions; actions, veils of attributes; and attributes, veils of the essence of revelation, which relates to mystery, dependent either upon exterior

[1] The Súfis call حِجَاب " veil," whatever is opposed to perfect union with divinity. In the life of *Joneid Abu' 'l-Kasem*, who was born and educated in Baghdâd, and died in the year of the Hejira 297 (A. D. 909), one of the earliest and most celebrated founders of Súfism, we read what follows: " Somebody said to Joneid: ' I found that the Shaikhs of Kho- " ' rasan acknowledge three sorts of veils: the first is the nature (of man); " ' the second is the world, and the third concupiscence.'—' These are, " said Joneid, ' the veils which apply themselves to the heart of the com- " ' mon among men; but there exists another sort of veil for special men;' " ' that is, for the disciples of spiritual life, the Súfis: this is the view of " ' works, the consideration of the recompenses due to acts, and the regard " ' of the benefits of God. The Shaikh of Islamism said (relatively to this " ' subject): God is veiled from the heart of man, who sees his proper " ' actions; God is veiled even from him who seeks recompense, and from " ' him who, occupied with considering the benefit, turns his eyes from " ' the benefactor.' " —(See *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. XII.; p. 435, Joneid's Life, by Jâmi, translated by Silvestre de Sacy)

form or inner sense. The first kind of truth is called *Kashef surí*, the "exterior revelation;" the second kind is the *Kashef mâní*, "inner revelation." The exterior revelation takes place by means of sight, hearing, touch, smell, or rapture, and is dependent upon temporal traditions; this is called *rahbániyet*, "way-guarding," because the finding of truth according to investigation is contemplation, and some reckon this investigation among the sorts of *istidráj*,[1] "miracles permitted by God for hardening "the hearts of sinners," and of *makr Ilahí*, "divine "fascination."

Some derived the commands relative to the other world from the revelation, and confined their desires to *faná*, "annihilation, and *baká*, "eternal "life." The author of this book heard from Sabjana that the exterior revelation concerning temporal actions is called "monastic institution,"[2] because

[1] استدراج is also interpreted: "prodigy of chastisement," that is, extraordinary things may be operated by a man who renounced obedience to God, in order that such a man may be led to perdition. This appears founded upon a passage of the Koran (chap. XVIII. vv. 43, 44): "Let me "alone with him who accuseth this new revelation of imposture. We "will lead them gradually to destruction by ways which they know not; "and I will bear with them for a long time, for my stratagem is "effectual."

[2] See vol. III. p. 18, note 2. Monachism was not only disapproved but positively prohibited by the Muhammedan religion, the first founders of which, chiefs of warlike tribes, were by necessity, profession, and habit, continually engaged in military expeditions. But to the Asiatic, in general,

monks belong to the exterior people; and its worship is, according to rules, relative to every thing exterior; and its purpose, on account of service, directed to the retribution of deeds, reward of heaven, adherence to a particular prophet, and the like. Further obedience is an indication which bears towards temporal actions; on that account its revelation is connected with temporal concerns. The devout Muselman follows also the rule of monastic life, and the Christian is not without participation in absorption and eternal life.

It is to be known that in the service of a king there are two confidential Amirs, who are not friends, but entertain enmity against each other. They may bring their own friends before the king. So are the prophets appointed at the court *of God;* if not so, how would the absolute Being have divided the extent of his empire by religion, if this were to be confined to one person? Another opinion is that of a pious philosopher, who contemplates the light of God in all objects of this and the other world, and turns not his regard from the least atom; he

so natural is ascetism, seclusion, and contemplation, that Muhammed, in order to restrain a propensity which he felt and now and then showed himself, declared that, for monachism, the pilgrimage to Mecca was substituted by divine order. Even during the prophet's life, the love of monastic and anachoretic professions gained ascendancy among Muselmans, and easily united with Súfism.

raised this belief to a high estimation; and to him remained no rancor of creed or religion; whoever, in the service of faith and morality is not freed from duality, and whoever says, the state of Muselmans is in dignity higher than that of Christians, knows nothing of the real Being. Whoever said of himself: "I attained a height of knowledge equal to "that of *Mâruf Kerkhi*,[1] said nothing else than this: "the variety and multitude of the rules of prophets "proceed only from the abundance of names, and, "as in names there is no mutual opposition or con- "tradiction, the superiority in rank among them "is only the predominance of a name."

The Súfis say: The spirits of the perfect men[2]

[1] See vol. II. p. 390, note 2.

[2] نفوس كاملہ انسانی *nafus Kamilah insa'ni. Insan kamil,* "the perfect man," according to the doctrine of the Súfis, is, "the re- "union of all the worlds, divine and natural, universal and partial; he "is the book in which all books, divine and natural, are reunited. *On* "account of his spirit and intellect, it is a reasonable book, called 'the "'Mother of Books;" on account of his heart, it is the book of the "well-guarded table (*al lowh*); on account of his soul, it is the book of "things obliterated and of things written; it is he who is then the "venerable sublime and pure pages, which are not to be touched, and "the mysteries which cannot be comprehended but by those who are "purified from the dark veils. The relation of the first intelligence to "the great world, and to its realities themselves, is as the relation of the "human soul to the body and its faculties; for the universal soul is the "heart of the great world, as the reasonable soul is the heart of the man, "and it is on that account that the world is called 'the great Man.'"—(*Definitions de Jorjani. Not. et Ext. des MSS.*, vol. IX. pp. 86-87). In

after separation from their bodies, go to the world of angels. The saints are directed by the interpretation of the Korán, and the vulgar people by the commentary upon both. Some maintain that the Saints do not subject themselves to it, but are tenacious only of this verse:

"Adore God, thy Lord, until attaining certitude (himself)."

The Shaikh Nájem eddin Kabra[1] said: When distinguished persons abandon the ceremonies of the worship, this means that these ceremonies which are performed by prescription, are contrary to them, because in worship no difficulty or inconvenience is to take place, but only joy and pleasure to be derived from it.

The lord Saíd Muhammed Nurbakhsh says, in the account of apparitions: The difference between *baroz*, "apparition," and *tanásokh*, "transmigration," is this: that the latter is the arrival of the soul, when it has separated from one body to take possession of another, in the embryo which is fit

the passage just quoted, Silvestre de Sacy thinks *the perfect man* is equal to the first intelligence.—*The book of things obliterated and of "things written*, the world of transitory things, in which life and death "succeed each other."—The universal soul is an emanation of the divinity, subordinate to the first and universal intelligence.

[1] *Najem-eddin Abu 'l-Jenab Ahmed*, son of *Omar*, was a celebrated Súfi, who formed a great number of disciples. He was surnamed *Kobra*, "great," on account of his superior knowledge. He died in the year of the Hejira 618 (A. D. 1221).

for receiving a soul in the fourth month, to be reckoned from the moment when the sperma fell and settled in the womb; and this separation from one body and junction with another is called *maâd*, "resurrection." An "apparition" is when a soul accumulates excellence upon excellence and an overflow takes place; so that by beatific vision it becomes visible; that is, it may happen, that a perfect soul, after its separation from the body, resides years in the upper world, and afterwards, for the sake of perfecting mankind, joins with a body, and the time of this junction is also the fourth month to be reckoned from the moment of the formation of the body, as was said upon transmigration.

It is stated, in the abridged commentary upon Gulshen-raz, that the soul cannot be without a body. When it is separated from the elemental body, it becomes a shadowy figure in the *barzakh*, that is, in the interval of time between the death and the resurrection of a man;[1] this is called "the acquired "body." The barzakh, to which the soul is transported after its separation from this world, is another place than that which is between the spirits and the bodies. The first is called *ghaib imkani*, "the pos-"sible disappearance," and the second *ghaib mahâli*, "the illusive disappearance." All those who experience the possible disappearance, become informed

[1] See page 245, note 2.

of future events. There are many contradictory opinions about the illusive disappearance, which is the annunciation of the tidings of an extraordinary death. The lord Shaikh Muhammed Láhejí stated, in his commentary upon Gulshen-raz, that in the histories and accounts before-said is to be found, that *Jábilká* is a town of immense magnitude in the East, and *Jábilsá* a town of the utmost extent in the West, opposite to the former.[1] Commentators have said a great deal upon both. According to the impressions which I, an humble person, have received upon my mind relative to this subject, without copying others, and conformably with the indications, there are two places; the one, *Jábilká* is *álemi-misal*, "the "world of images," because on the east side the spirits emerge into existence. Barzakh (another name for it) is between the invisible and the visible, and contains every image of the world; certainly there may be a town of immense greatness, and *Jábilsá* is "the world of similitude." Barzakh is there the world in which the souls reside after their separation from the worldly station, all suitably to their deeds, manners, and words, good or bad, which

[1] Jabilka and Jabilsa signify the double celestial Jerusalem of the Súfis: the first is the world of ideals, which is the wall of separation between the real and the mystic world; the second is the world of spirits after the completion of their career upon earth.—(See Von Hammer's *Gulshen-raz*, p. 25.)

they had made their own in the worldly station, as is to be found in the sacred verses and traditions. This Barzakh is on the west side of the material world, and is certainly a town of immense greatness, and opposite to it is Jábilká. The inhabitants of this town are gentle and just, whilst the people of Jábilsá, on account of the wicked deeds and manners which they had made their own in the worldly station, well deserve to be distinguished by the title of oppressors. Many entertain the opinion that both Barzakhs are but one; it should however be stated, that Barzakh in which the souls will abide after their separation from the worldly station is to the right of that Barzakh which is placed between the pure spirits and the bodies: because the gradations of the descent and ascent of beings form a circle, in which the junction of the last with the first point cannot be imagined but in the movement of the circle, and that Barzakh which is prior to the worldly station, with regard to the graduated descent, has a connection with the anterior worldly station; and that Barzakh, which is posterior to the worldly station, with regard to the graduated ascent, has a connection with the posterior worldly station. Further, whatever he the form of manners of the souls in the posterior Barzakh, this will also be the form of deeds, consequences of manners, actions, and qualities which had been owned in the worldly

station, in opposition to the former Barzakh. Then the one is a stranger to the other; however, as both worlds, inasmuch as spiritual essences of light, being different from matter, are comprised in the visionary forms of the universe, they may be taken for synonimous. The Shaikh Dáúd Káís'erí relates that Shaikh Mahi-eddin of Arabia (may his tomb be purified!) has stated in the *Fatúhál*, "revelations," that *Barzakh* is different from the first; and the reason that the first is distinguished by the name of "possible absence," and the latter by "illusive absence," is, that every form in the first Barzakh is contingent, and depends upon exterior evidence, and every form in the last Barzakh, is inaccessible *to the senses*, and admits of no evidence but on the last day of the world. There are many expounders to whom the form of the first Barzakh appears evident, and who know what takes place in the world of accidents; however, few of these expounders are informed of the news of death.

The author of this book heard from Sabjáni, the learned in the knowledge of God; that the belief of the pure Súfis is the same as that of the *Ashrákian*, "the Platonists;" but the Súfis have now mixed their creed with so many glosses, that nobody finds therein the door to the rules of the prophet, and the ancient Saints. Sabjáni gave the information that the essence of God Almighty is absolute light, abso-

lute brightness, and mysterious life; that he is pure, and free from all colors, figures, shapes, and without a prototype; that the interpretation of the eloquent and the indications of the learned are deficient in the account of that light which is without color and mark; that the understanding of the learned and the wisdom of the sage is too weak for entirely comprehending the pure essence of that light, and as, conformably to these words:

"I was a hidden treasure; but I wished to be known, and I created "the world for being known."

The essence of God the most High and Almighty showed his existence, so that, except him, there is no real being. In this employment of manifestation, he entered into contemplation, whence the sage calls him the first intelligence; because this lord of expansive creation considered every being according to the scope of propriety; and when the Almighty Being of expansive creation had examined every form inasmuch as by his power it was possible that such a form might appear, he fixed his contemplation in this employment of manifestation, so that what is called "the perfect spirit" is nothing else but himself. From Sabjana the information has been received and found in books that Abul Hassen Surí said: God Almighty rendered his spirit beauteous, then called it "truth," and made revelations, and brought forth names to the creatures;

the absolute being has two heads: the first is *itlák sarf*,[1] "absolute excellence," and *vahedet mahs*,[2] "unmixed unity;" the second is *mukayed va kasret va badáyet*,[3] "compass, abundance, and primi-"tiveness." This, according to the greatest number, relates to unity. Further is *âkl-kulli*,[4] "the "universal spirit," which incloses all realities which are (as it were) concrete in him, and this is called *ârsh-i-majíd*,[5] "the throne of glory" (the ninth or empyrean heaven); "he is the truth of mankind, and between him and the majesty of divinity there is no mediator according to the wise, although some admit a difference. Sabjání said, this indicates that they wish no separation from the Lord of grace may ever take place. Moreover, the universal spirit, which embraces all realities in the way of expansion, they call *ârsh-i-Kerim*,[6] "the "throne of mercy," and *lawh-i-mahfúz*,[7] "the tables "of destiny." Besides, there is the universal

[1] اطلاق صرف.
[2] وحدت محض.
[3] مقيد و كثرت و بدايت.
[4] عقل كلي.
[5] عرش مجيد.
[6] عرش كريم.
[7] لوح محفوظ.

nature, penetrating all material and spiritual beings, and this is called *âikáb*,[1] "vicissitude." With the philosophers nature is the noble part of bodies, and Sajani stated, the penetrating nature in spirits indicates and signifies that there is one divine Being, and the rest nothing else but shadows. Finally, there is an essence of life, which the philosophers call *hayúli*, "the first principle of every thing material," and the Súfis call it *enka*.

Section III. —Of some of the Saints among the Moderns, and of the Sufis, whom the Author of this Work has known.

The God-devoted lord Mawláná shah Badakhshí, when he had come from his accustomed abode to India, by the assistance of God was received among the disciples of Shah Mír of the Kádarí lineage, who had chosen his residence in the royal capital of Lahore, and acquired great knowledge by his studies.

[1] عقاب.

From the original compositions of this sect of holiness, we have the following quatrain:

" The being who descended from his high sphere of sanctity,
" From the absolute world, inclined towards the nether bondage,
" He will, as long as the Lord forms mankind.
" Remain fitted to the four elements."

Besides, the lord Mahi eddin Muhammed, the master of rank and dignity, the lord of the universe Dáráshukó,[1] having, according to his desire, has-

[1] Darashiko was the eldest son and heir presumptive of *Shah-Jehan*, of Delhi, during whose life he defended him against the rebellion of his younger brother, *Aureng-zeb*, who, leagued with two other brothers, attempted to dethrone his father. Dara, having been defeated in a battle on the river Jambul, retired towards Lahore, whilst the victorious Aureng-zeb proceeded to Agra, and by stratagem rendered himself master of his father's person, and imprisoned his brother Murad bakhsh, whom he had, till then, treated as emperor, in the castle of Agra, where the captive prince died. Proclaimed emperor under the title of *Aalemgir*, the new sovereign now turned his arms against Dara, who was in possession of the *Panj-ab*, *Multan*, and *Kabul*, and defended the line of the *Setlej*. Here beaten, Dara retired beyond the Indus, and took refuge in the mountains of Bikker. Aalumgir was called to *Allahabad*, to encounter his brother *Suja*, who had moved from Bengal to assert his right to the throne. Aalemgir had scarce repulsed him, when he was obliged to haste towards Guzerat: there was Dara, who had recrossed the Indus and taken an advantageous position in that maritime province. He might have been victorious in a battle, but he succumbed to the artfulness of Aalemgir. Deserted by his army, abandoned by his allies, he was delivered up by traitors to his cruel brother, subjected to an ignominious exposition in the streets of Delhi, and executed. Suja, Alemgir's last brother was obliged to fly to Arrakan, where he died, seven years before his father, Shah Jehan, who died his son's prisoner, in 1665. I have related the principal events of one single year, 1658 of our era. This is a date in the life of the author of the Dabistán, then in his fortieth

tened to wait on his person, obtained the object of his wish, so that, whatever was established as certainty among the theological propositions which he found for the benefit of the travellers in the vast desert, he sent it to Kachmír, where the lord Múláná sháh keeps his residence.

"Upon the whole, God spoke by the tongue of Omar."

Any questions of every one who interrogates are asked from *him*, although they may fall from the tongue of the asker, and the hearing of every thing solicited comes from the asker, although he himself may not know it.

"All beings are one."

Some of this sect of Alides (may God sanctify their tombs!) also believe that the progress of perfection has no limits, because revelation is without limit, as it takes place every moment; hence it follows that the increase cannot be limited. So they say, if the Súfi live one thousand years, he still is in progress. Some of the ancient Shaikhs proffer, as a confirma-

year or thereabout. He was before this time in the Panjab, and might have personally known Darashuko, who was renowned for his great learning and most religious turn of mind. Besides what is said above in our text, we know (see *Mémoires sur les particularités de la Religion musulmane*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 107), that Dara frequented *Baba Lal*, a Hindu Durvish, who inhabited Dhianpur in the province of Lahore, and conversed with him upon religious matters. The Munshi *Shanderban Shah Jehani* wrote a Persian work, which contains the pious conversations of these personages.

tion of this statement, that the Shaikh al islam, "the shaikh of the right faith," said: There exists no more evident sign of bad fortune than the day of a fixed fortune; whoever does not proceed, retrogrades. It is reported as the saying of the prophet (may the benediction of the most High be upon him):

"He whose two days are alike is deceived."

It was also said: "A traveller, who during two "days goes on in the same manner, is in the way of "detriment; he must be intent upon acquiring and "preserving."[1]

The greatest part of this sect maintain the same doctrine, but, by the benediction of my Shaikh, the crier for help in the quarters of heaven, the teacher of the people of God, the godly, the lord Mulána Shah (the peace and mercy of God be his!), upon me, an humble person, fell, as if it were the splendor of the sun, and made it clear to me that the Súfi has degrees and a limit of perfection, that, after having attained it, he remains at that height; because with me, an humble broken

[1] These are evidently sentiments conducive to progressive civilization and perfection of mankind, and prove that, in Asia, even under the domination of the Muhammedan religion, men felt that they are not doomed to be *stationary;* thus the absurd dogma of fatality was, by a fortunate inconsistency, counterbalanced by the dictates of sound reason. Unfortunately, our author, generally so liberal-minded, appears upon that point not to range himself upon the most rational side.

individual, to remain at a height attained, is proficiency, inasmuch as every state has its perfection, and the perfection of a progressing state annihilates the progress. This is also the meaning of the before-quoted saying of the prophet; because there is lute freedom with those only who are united with bondage with those who tend towards God, and abso-him, and the words "two days" refer to time. In the same manner my master (the mercy of God be upon him!) interpreted those words. The truth is, that they have not understood the saying, and have not penetrated into the interior sense of the figurative expression: because the latter refers in truth to the insufficiency of a contemplative man. And this sense agrees with that of the following authentic tradition of the prophet (the peace and blessing of the Highest be upon him):

"There are moments in which I am with God in such a manner that "neither angel nor arch-angel, nor prophet, nor apostle, can attain "to it."

These words confirm his having once been in a lower station. It is said that the prophet (the peace and blessing of the most High be upon him!) was not always of the same disposition, the same state, and the same sort of constitution; but this is not so, but from the same approved tradition it is evident that the prophet (peace and blessing upon him!) was always in the same state, and no ascent nor descent

was possible therein; because he says: "Yon place "was at once so contiguous to me, that no che- "rub or no divine missioned prophet ever found "himself in such a situation." The time of a prophet is a universal one, and is free from temporariness: this time has neither priority nor posteriority—

"With thy Lord there is neither morning nor evening."

Except this, the noble tradition has no meaning, which is also evident from the obvious interpretation, and moreover included in the state of perfection and constitution of Muhammed (peace and blessing upon him!). But, in the sense which they attribute to the words, a deficiency is necessarily implied. The state of the lord of the world (Muhammed) is always in the perfection of unity; this is the best to adopt, at times in a particular, and at times in a general qualification. There is also another interpretation which the Shaikhs (the mercy of the most High be upon them) gave to these words: inasmuch as the gradations of these Saints are infinite. Thus in the work *nefhát ul ins*, "the fragrant "gales of mankind,"[1] the opinion of the Shaikhs is stated to be, that some of the saints are without a mark and without an attribute, and the perfection of a state, and the utmost degree to which Saints

[1] See page 96, note 1.

may attain, is to be without an attribute and without a mark. It was said:

"He who has no mark, his mark are we."

Besides, those who acknowledge an ascent without a limit, if in the pure being and true essence of the glorious and most high God, who is exempt and free from ascent and descent, color, odor, outwardness and inwardness, increase and decrease, they admit a progression, it must also be admissible in the existence of a Súfi professing the unity of God. And if they do not admit a gradation of progress *in God*, then they ought not to admit it in the professor of the divine unity, who in the exalted state of purity and holiness became united with him. When a devotee among men, having left the connexion with works of supererogation, arrives at that of divine precepts, he realises the words:

"When thou didst cast thy arrows against them, thou didst not cast "them, but God slew them."[1]

It may be said: Certainly, he who became one with God, and of whose being not an atom remained,

[1] Koran, chap. VIII. v. 17. We have mentioned (p. 100, note 2) Muhammed's victory gained at Bedr over a superior force of the Koreish. The prophet, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel, and threw it towards the enemy, saying: "May their faces be confounded:" whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled. Hence the above passage is also rendered: "Neither didst thou, O *Muhammed!* "cast *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didst *seem to* cast *it*, but God "cast *it*."

he, from whose sight both worlds vanished, who in the steps of right faith arrived at the rank of perfect purity, and from truth to truth became God, what then higher than God can there ever be, to which the pious professor of unity may further tend to ascend? It is known:

" Beyond blackness, no color can go."[1]

Every one, as long as he is in the state of progress, cannot have arrived at the condition

" Where there is no fear and no care."

[1] The assumption of being God was not uncommon among the Súfis. One of the most distinguished was *Hassain Mans'ur Hallaj*, a disciple of Joneid. After having taught the most exalted mysticism, in several countries, Hallaj was condemned to death in Baghdad, according to Ben Shohnah on account of a point of his doctrine concerning the pilgrimage to Mecca, for which he thought some other good works might be justly substituted, according to Sheheristáni and others, on account of having proclaimed himself to be God. During the infliction of one thousand stripes, followed by a gradual dismemberment of his whole body, he never ceased, by words and acts, to give demonstrations of the most extatic joy. The manner of his death is variously related.—(See Herbelot, and *Taskirat al aulia*, by Farid-eddin in Tholuck's *Blüthen sammlung aus morgenländischer Mystik*, S. 311–327). Abu Yezid Bastami (before mentioned, p. 229, note) also used to salute himself as God. " Agriculturists," says Ghazali, " left their fields and assumed such a character; nature is " delighted with speeches which permit works to be neglected, under the " illusion of purifying the heart by the attainment of certain degrees " and qualities." This opinion produced great evils, " so that," adds the said author in his indignation, " to put to death the lowest of those " who set forth such futile pretensions, is more consistent with God's " religion than to preserve the life of ten persons." —(See Pocock, first edit., pp. 268–269.)

Because care and fear derive from ascent and descent. Fear at ascending is in the expectation whether the ascent will succeed or not, but whoever disregards ascent and descent, and elevates himself above care and fear, he obtains tranquillity in tranquillity, and rectitude in rectitude. And the verse of the merciful is:

"Keep thyself upright as thou wast directed."

Hence is also understood, that the Súfi remains steadfast in the dignity of perfection, for rectitude is perseverance. O Muhammed! it is necessary; remain fixed in the dignity of professing the unity of God, which is free from the misfortune of inconstancy. And the verse of the merciful is:

"The day on which I perfected religion for your sake, and rendered "complete my favor towards you."

This indicates clearly the meaning that, by this perfection also, the prophet (upon whom be the peace and the blessing of the most High!) is manifested. And those who, on account of the infinity of revelation, hold progress to be perpetual, are not right: because, as long as the sight is illuminated by the light of the revelation, the revelationists and the illuminated are still separate, and not yet become one:[1] in this state there is duality and infidelity

[1] As long as the Sufi is conscious of the least distinction between God and himself, he is not thoroughly penetrated by the unity of God. Here

in the individual who has not yet been liberated from the idea of something double in himself, and he to whom an atom of something else but that one remains attached is reckoned, by all professors of unity and by all perfect saints, to be one who gives partners to God or an infidel, and in a state of deficiency.

" It behoves thee to keep neither soul nor body,
" And if they both remain, I do not remain;
" As long as a hair of thee remains upon its place,
" Know, by this one hair, thy foot remains fettered.
" As long as thou playest not at once thy life,
" I shall consider thee as polluted and impious."

* Why dost thou not thyself produce revelation, so that thou mayest * always be illuminated? *

follows the translation of a passage taken from the Masnavi of the celebrated Jelal eddin Rumi, which passage, we may agree with Silvestre de Sacy, admirably expresses this mystic doctrine in the form of an apologue: " A man knocked at the door of his friend. The latter asked: " ' Who art thou, my dear?'—' It is I.'—' In this case, be off; I cannot " ' at present receive thee; there is no place at my board for one who is " ' still *raw;* such a man cannot be sufficiently *dressed* (that is ma- " ' tured) and cured of hypocrisy, but by the fire of separation and " ' refusal.' The unfortunate man departed. He employed a whole " year in travelling, consuming himself in the flames of desire and afflic- " tion, caused by the absence of his friend. Matured and perfected by " his long trial, he again approached the door of his friend and knocked " modestly, fearful that an uncivil word might again fall from his own " lips. — ' Who is there?' was asked from the interior of the house.'— " ' Dear friend, it is thyself who art at the door.'—' Because it is myself, " enter to-day; this house can contain no other than I.' " —(See *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, vol. XII. pp. 430-431, note 4).

* The words between asterisks are not joined in the text to the verses;

As this question, solved in this manner by me, humble individual, was very abstruse, I sent it to my friends, that, if there were occasion for *further* discussion, they might write to me, and thus the matter be better elucidated. God alone is all-sufficient; the rest is inordinate desire. What has been hitherto said is taken from the prince of the world (Dara sheko).

It should be known that, in the work *Merás ed al ânáyet*, "Observations upon the blessed favor," is stated, that the sect, which in their (exalted) feeling[1] conquer the state of *jazbet*,[2] *jamâ va vahedet*, "attraction, union, and unity," have acquired, by means of the superiority of the manifest name (*the quality of*) exterior deity, and interior and hidden creation. This sect is called, in the language of the Súfis, *saheban-i-kereb*[3]*-i-ferâis*, "the masters of

they seem nevertheless to belong to them, although not in the metre of the other lines.

[1] مذاق, "tasting," from ذوق, *zawk*, "taste, delight," is above employed in a wide acceptation, and means in the technical language of the Súfis an uncommon exaltation of the mind.

[2] جذبه, "attraction," is a mystical state, in which God attracts the saint, in order that he, an obedient servant, may direct his mind towards the side to which he is attracted, and may be inflamed in such a manner as to rise up towards heaven. The *majezub*, "attracted," form a particular class of the Súfis.—(See p. 250-251, note 1.)

[3] قرب, "proximity," a technical term of the Súfis, is referred the words addressed by God to Muhammed: "adore and approach."—

proximity to divine "precepts," and this proximity is acknowledged to be that of divine precepts. This sect, which, on account of the proper meaning of the name of *al báten*, "interior," may be brought into relation with expansive creation and hidden reality, this sect after *jamâ*, "union," obtains *ferk*, "division,"[1] and this is called *kereb-i-navâfil*, "prox-"imity of supererogation." The lord Shaikh Muhammed Láheji states that *jamâ*, "union," is contrary to *ferk*, "division;" and division is the veil of God before the creatures. Every one sees the creation, but acknowledges God to be without it; every one has the sight of God by means of the creation, that is, every one sees God, but the creation by itself affords no access to the sight of him.

(See p. 197). A man approaches God by all acts which may procure him happiness, and it is not God who approaches man, because God is always near all men, whether they be predestined to heaven or hell; but it is man who approaches God.

[1] جمع and فرق are terms used in a particular sense by the Sufis. In the state of jamâ, "union," the mystic sees but God and his unity; in the state of *ferk*, "division," man enters again into the natural state, and occupies himself with good works and the fulfilment of precepts. He does even what is not prescribed conformably with this passage of the Koran (chap. XVII. v. 81): "Watch some part of the night in the same "exercise (praying), as a work of supererogation for thee; peradventure "thy Lord will raise thee to an honorable station." These two states (union and division) are necessary to the mystic. The following passage of the Koran is quoted as an authority for this doctrine: *God testifies that there is no God but him;* this is "union;" *and the angels testify the same, as well as the men who possess the science;* this is "division."

Besides, the Mariyam of the world, the Fátima of the time and ages, the purity of human kind, the protecting intelligence, *Jehán ára* " the ornament of " the world," the *begum*, the lady, " the daughter of *Abu 'l Muzafer Shihábu 'd dín Muhammed sáhib-Kirán sání Amir ul muslemin sháh Jehán pádsháh ghází*, " the victorious lord, the bright star of religion, " Muhammed, a second Sáhib Kírán, the Amir of " the believers, Shah Jehan, the conquering emperor, having secretly followed, by the desire of her heart, the injunctions of the blessed Mullá shah, turned her face to the right rule, and attained her wish, the full knowledge of God. One of the wonderful speeches of this blessed and exalted personage, whom the author of this book knew, is the following: In the year of the Hejira 1057 (A. D. 1647) Mulla shah came to the house of a friend in Hyderábád. One of the persons present, by way of reproving allusion, began to ask questions about the hurt which the bégum of the lord received by fire. The teacher of morality said to him: " A slight gar- " ment imbibed with oil, when it takes fire, is " easily burnt;" in such a manner came the misfortune upon the most pure form of her majesty. This person laughed and continued to revile. By accident, somebody came from the house of this person and said: " What, art thou sitting here, whilst thy " sister is burnt, because fire fell upon her gar-

ment." The master observed: "In such a man-
"ner, I said, befell misfortune on the illustrious princess; God has shown it to thee."

"The lamp which God has lighted,
"Whoever blows it out burns his beard."

The Sufi Mulla Ismâíl Isfahaní, seeking enjoyment, came from Iran to the great towns of India, and in Lahore visited the lord Mían Mír; he chose the condition of a Durvish, and from Lahore soon betook himself to Kashmir, where he abandoned the worldly affairs, and practised pious austerity. The author of this book saw him in Kashmír, in the year of the Hejira 1049 (A. D. 1639). The following verse is by him:

"I knocked down every idol which was in my way,
"No other idol remains to my veneration but God himself."

From Mírzá Muhammed Makím, the jeweller, the information was received that Mír Fakher eddin Muhammed Tafresí was occupied in Kashmir with reviling and reproving Mulla Ismâíl and Fakher, and said: "These belong to the infidels, and are des-
"tined to hell." Mulla Ismâíl answered: "In this
"state I withheld my hand from worldly affairs,
"and in this world never was associated to thee;
"in like manner in the future world, as, according
"to thy opinion, we are infidels, and go to hell, and
"not to heaven with thee; therefore it behoves thee
"to be satisfied and content with us, as we have left

" to thee the present and the future world. The Mobed says:

" The pious and the idolaters are satisfied with us, as we
" Are not ourselves their partners, neither in this nor in the other world;
" Enmity arises from partnership; we, with the intention of friendship,
" Gave up the future, and follow the present world."

Mírzá Muhammed Mokim, the jeweller, further said: A person gave bad names to Fakheraye Fál; the latter, looking towards him, gave him no answer. When we asked him the reason of his silence, he replied: " A man moved his lips, and " agitated the air; what does that concern me?" Fakher, the ornament of mankind, was not much addicted to religious austerity, but gave himself up to counselling, reforming, and correcting others. He assumed the surname of *Tarsa*, " timid, or un- " believer;" he called the Journal of his travels, *Dair-namah*, " Journal of a tavern (also monastery)." In this Journal are the following lines:

" I met upon my road with a bitch,
" Like a dog guided by scent in the circle of a chase.
" Her paw was colored with blood,
" In the middle of the road she lay like a tiger;
" Impelled either by wild instinct or necessity,
" She had made her own whelp the aliment of life.
" At the sight of so strange a scene,
" I restrained my hand from striking, and opening my lips,
" I said: ' O dog, what desirest thou to do?
" ' Upon thy own heart why inflicting all this pain?'
" Scarce had the tip of my tongue perforated the pearl of the secret,
" When her tail was agitated, and she said:

" ' O thou who art not informed of thy own state,
" ' How shall I give thee an account of my condition?'
" When the words of the dog came upon my ear,
" A resplendent sun fell into my mind.
" In the sense of (*these words indicative of the dog's*) insanity,
" My own sense found the authority of a precept.[1]
" The desire of wandering in the garden left my heart,
" Which assumed the quality of a tulip and a deep mark;
" It saw nothing upon the path of profligacy
" But the privation of remedies.
" I said again to her: ' O lion-like dog,
" ' The morning-breeze learns from thee rapidity:
" ' Manifest to me the state of thy heart,
" ' Exhibit to me the form of its history.'
" She gave a howl, and, emitting lamentations:
" Rendered testimony of her own secret condition:
" ' I devoured the blood of the offspring of my own womb
" ' That nobody might place a weight upon my head."

In the year of the Hejira 1056 (A. D. 1647), according to information received, Fakhera Tarsa left his old habitation in Ahmed ábad of Guzerat. The father of the Durvish, the pious Sabjáni, was an inhabitant of Hirát, but he was born in India. This illustrious person made a great proficiency in the sciences of philosophy and history, and acquired also a fortune; but he at last turned his face from it, and chose retirement and solitude; for

یافت دران مرغ زدیوانگی [1]
مرغ دلم منصب پروانگی

Literally: " In this bird from insanity the bird of my heart found the " station of a command." It is known that *murgh*, " birds," among other significations, has that of " the heart, the understanding."

many years he followed the footsteps of a perfect spiritual guide; he travelled to see monasteries and hermitages, until he became the disciple of Shaikh Mujed eddín Muhammed Balkhí Kâderí, who was free, virtuous, and remote from the world. The said Shaikh read the whole work of Shaikh Mohí eddín Arabi before his master, and his master perused it likewise with Shaikh Sader eddin Kautíví, who had heard the whole of it from Shaidh Mohí eddín. Ths pious Sabjáni frequently expounded the words of the lord Rais ul Mohedín, " the chief " of the believers of divine unity," Shaikh Mohí eddín Arabí, and those of the best Súfis, and as he was carried to the very limit of evidence, he found them conformable with the doctrine of the Platonists. The godly Sabjána studied the whole work of the celebrated Shaikh in the service of his perfect master. After this attendance, having resigned every thing into the hands of the fortunate Shaikh, he turned his face entirely to sanctity, and lived a considerable time retired in solitude, until his master declared to him: Now, thou hast attained perfection. The pious Sabjáni keeps nothing with him but the cover of his privities; he abstains from eating the flesh of any animal; he asks for nothing; if any sustenance be left near him, provided it be not animal food, he takes a little of it; he venerates the mosques and the

temples of idols; and he performs in *butgadah*,[1] "house of idols," according to the usage of the Hindus, the *puja* and *dandavet*, "worship and "prostration," that is, the religious rites, but in the mosques he conforms in praying after the manner of the Muselmans; he never abuses the faith and rites of others; nor gives he one creed preference over another; he always practises abstinence, but at times he breaks the fast with some fruits from the mountains, such as pine-kernels, and the like; he takes no pleasure in demonstrations of honor and magnificence to him, nor is he afflicted by disdain and contempt, and in order to remain unknown to men, he dwells in the *Kohistan*, "mountainous country" of the Afgháns and Kafris, and the like. The Kafrís are a tribe from Kabulistan, and are called Kafer *Katóriz*, who before lived upon mountains, in deserts and forests, remote and concealed from others.

The author of this book saw Sabjání in the year of the Hejira 1046 (A. D. 1636) in upper Bangash. This personage never sleeps at night, but sits awake in deep meditation; every one who sees him would take him for a divine being. Shaikh Sâdi says:

[1] *But-gadah* appears to me to have been corrupted into *pagoda*, the modern name of a Hindu temple in popular language. This name has also been derived from *bhagavata*, but, if I am not mistaken, with less probability.

" Dost thou not know that, when I went to the friend,
" As soon as I arrived before him, I said: ' It is he.' "[1]

Sabjání appears a (divine) revelation in his actions, steps, attributes, and nature, and to have attained the summit of perfection. He said that, with respect to the other world, there are several classes of men. The one denies the absolute being; another interprets it in an abstract manner of reasoning, inasmuch as they have sufficient intelligence to be modest and conciliating. The distinguished Súfis, without interpreting the different systems of nations, which, in their separate creeds of various kinds and religions, differ about the beforesaid object, view in the bodies the agreeableness of imagery. Khizer, Elías, Brahma, Ganésa, and all the gods of India, these and the like representations, which in this world have no reality, all are distinct objects of imagination. Essential is what was said by Abu Nazer Farábí (may God illume his grave!) that the common people view their creeds under the form of their imagination. The author of this book heard also from the lord, the pious Sabjání: The contemplative man sees every one whom he loves and esteems, frequently in dreams in a beautiful shape, and in an exalted state, although to other people he may appear iniquitous; and the person whom he

[1] See page 292-293, note 1.

knows to be depraved, will often be viewed by him in a repulsive condition, although to the crowd he may appear glorious and powerful. Hence follows, that the learned among the contemplative persons make use of a negative argument in their creed, in order that it may become evident what the truth really is. When any one sees a person of high rank, such as a prophet, an Imám, or any dignified individual, in a state of some deficiency, he views his own defects in his understanding, spirit, heart, or nature; and as these things are but seeming defects in the great personage, he must endeavor to remove them from himself. In like manner, if one sees a person in good health (appearing to him) in a state of illness, there is illness in his own state, and if he thinks him bad with regard to his own faith, he ought to be somewhat disposed to think that person good.

A disciple demanded some employment from Sabjání. The master asked him: "Hast thou devoted "thyself to piety?" The answer was: "I have." Then Sabjání said: "If thou art a Muselman, go to "the Franks, and stay with that people; if thou "art a Nazarean, join the Jews; if a Sonni, betake "thyself to Irak, and hear the speeches and re- "proaches of those men; if thou professest to "be a Shíah, mix with the schismatics, and lend "thy ear to their words; in this manner, what-

" ever be thy religion, associate with men of an " opposite persuasion; if, in hearing their dis- " courses thou feelest but little disturbed, thy mind " keeps the tenor of piety; but if thou art not in " the least moved and mixest with them like milk " and sugar, then certainly thou hast attained the " highest degree of perfect peace, and art a master " of the divine creation."

Yusef was a man belonging to the tribe of Durds,[1] and in his youth a hermit; at last, by his efforts, he found access to the intellectual world, and by the grace of God he carried it so far, that he was ranged among the disciples called Sanyásis, on account of their piety and knowledge, and among the learned followers of the celebrated master, who dwelt in Bárahmúlah, a village in Kachmir. It so happened that, when he devoted himself to his service, he found what he was in search of. Shaikh Atar says:

" An unbeliever becomes a relation by love;
" A lover acquires the high sense of a durvish."

Having known many countries and persons, he became impressed with the marks of revelations. So it happened that the author of this book heard from him what follows: " One night I saw in a

[1] The Durds are the inhabitants of the mountainous country to the west of Kachmir.

" dream that the world was deluged by water; there
" remained no trace of a living being, and I was
" myself immersed in the water. In the midst of
" this state I saw a kingly rider come, sitting upon
" his horse upon the surface of the water. When he
" came near me, he said to me: ' Come with me
" ' that I may save thee.' I replied: ' Who art
" ' thou?' He answered: ' I am the self-existing
" ' being, and creator of all things.' Then I began
" to follow him rapidly, and run along the surface
" of the water, until I arrived in a garden. There
" I put my foot on the ground, and, directing my
" sight to the right, I beheld a delightful spot, full
" of all sorts of odoriferous herbs and elevated
" palaces, huris (beautiful virgins), kas urs (bridal
" chambers), and youths and boys, and all the gifts
" of heaven, as well as the blessed, occupied with
" enjoyments. Besides, at the left, I saw pits,
" black, narrow, and tenebrious; and therein, like
" bats, suspended a crowd of miserable beings
" whose hands and feet were tied to the neck. The
" horseman, after having invited me to a pleasure-
" walk in the garden, wanted to conduct me out of
" the delightful place, but I had resolved in myself
" that, like Idris, I would not go out of it. Then I
" stuck close to the door, and took fast hold of the
" post. When I awoke from sleep, I found my
" lips held fast by both my hands; and thus it was

" revealed to me that, whatever is, exists within " mankind itself.

" Demand from thyself whatever thou wishest: for thou art every " thing."

It is related: That there was a man called *Bahâder* among the Hindus, and he happened to have no male offspring in his house; therefore he came to Baba Yúsef, and demanded his benediction. Baba Yúsef gave him a bit of white earth, and said to him: " Let thy wife eat it." When the man had done as was enjoined him, a boy was born in his house, and received the name of *Rahu*. This individual, by the favor of the friends of God, became a learned man, and acquired the surname of " independent," as was said in the chapter of the Jnanian.[1]

The Mulla, called Umer, prohibited Baba Yúsef to listen to music, and whatever gentle entreaties Baba Yúsef employed, he paid no attention to them; at last the Baba, in the perturbation of his mind, threw a small fragment of stone upon him, in such a manner that Mulla Umer lost his senses for some time; when he recovered, he prostrated himself before the Baba, went out, and was no more seen.

Yúsef, the inspired, was a durvish, devoted to the practice of restraining his breath, which he carried so far that he kept his breath during four watches

[1] We find nothing upon this Rahu in the preceding pages.

(twelve hours).[1] One of his friends said to the author of this book in Kachmir, that Yúsef during a length of time ate nothing at all. The friend related: "I went one night to watch with him; he said "to me: 'Go and eat something.' I replied: 'I "'will; but it would be well that thou also shouldst "'take something to eat and to drink.' His answer "was: 'Thou art not able to satisfy my want "'of food.' I assured him: 'I am able.' He "then ordered: 'Go, bring what thou hast.' I "went home and brought him a great dish full of "rice, a large cup of coagulated milk, with bread "and other eatables, as much as might have been "sufficient for ten gluttons; he eat up every thing, "and said: 'Bring something more.' I went "home, prepared a meal for twenty persons, and "with the aid of the people of the house, brought "it to him. He eat it up, and desired more. I "returned home, and carried to him meats half "cooked and other things. He eat up all, and said: "'Bring more.' I fell at his feet; he called out: "'Have I not said to thee that thou wouldst not be "'able to satisfy my want of food.'"

One of his disciples related: Yúsef said, that he

[1] The practice of holding the breath, often mentioned in this work, is founded upon the belief, that to each man a certain number of respirations is allotted: the less he breathes the longer he lives. —(Shakespear's Dictionary, p. 365.)

has seen God the Almighty in the shape of a man, sitting in his house. The author of this book frequented the society of many contemplative pious Súfis, and learned men of this sect, elevated in rank; if he should relate all he knows of them, he would have to write a copious work.

To sum up precisely the creed of all these sects, it may be said, that some do not agree upon beings perceived and beings probable, but all acknowledge the existence of appearances. These are called *Súfistáyah*, and in Persian *Samrádí*. All those who believe all ought to be comprehended in what is perceived, and deny any reality to things probable (or to the subjects of reason), are named *Tábiâyah*, "physiologists," in Persian, *Mansí*. The belief of the latter is, that the world is composed of things perceived, and of individuals, children of Adam, and that animals are like plants: the one dries, the other shoots up afresh, and this occurrence will be repeated without end. Enjoyment is comprehended in eating, drinking, women, vehicles, and the like, and besides this world there is no other existence. Some agree upon the existence of things perceived and things probable, but differ upon the limits and laws. These are entitled *Filásafa-i-dahriah*, "secular philosophers," in Persian *Jáyákárí*, "attached to temporariness." This sect establishes a world of probabilities (composed) of nothing but things

perceived, but they believe also the perfection proper to mankind is that, after a certain knowledge of an Almighty Creator, they attain the future spiritual existence in an exalted station of the rational world, and become blessed with an abundance of every beatitude; they acknowledge a powerful intrinsic virtue of the intellect in the acquisition of this everlasting beatitude, which, with the essence of wisdom, has no want of another gift of any sort whatever. Disgrace means the opposition to the mode of laudable reason, and law is the mode in which the wise have settled the common affairs of the individuals of mankind conformably with rectitude.

There is another sect which, assuming the conviction of a material and immaterial world, and the power of reason, believe in a prophet, and say, that these distinguished persons have established the law for the good of God's creatures and the order of cities; and to that effect they possess a knowledge of the highest and most perfect kind; they are supported by the self-existing Being for the establishment of regulations and the decision of what is legal and forbidden, and what they announce concerning the world of spirits, angels, the ninth heaven, the throne of God, the tables of destiny, the written characters, and the like, are all ingenious inventions, rendered sensible to the understanding of the vulgar under forms which strike the imagina-

tion and offer tangible bodies; in this manner, in the account of the other world, they represent figuratively paradise, and húrís, kasúrs, rivers, birds, and fruits, merely with the intention of subduing the hearts of the vulgar, as allurement often renders their minds inclined to the proposed ends. And what they relate of chains, bolts, and hell, is calculated for alarming and terrifying the people. This class of men, that is the philosophers, direct also their hints and interpretation to this object, and their disciples say, that their wish is to follow the indicated footsteps of the prophet; these are the pious sages to whom they give the title of "philoso-" phers of God," and in Persian *Jánsáyi*, "the po-" lishers of souls."

The sect which adopts the material and immaterial world, adopts also the precepts of reason, but not the laws of the prophet. These are named *Sábíah*.[1] Another sect agrees to the material and im-

[1] Sheheristáni derives the name صابيا *sa'bi'a* from the Syriac verb *sa'ba'*, "to love, to desire." It has also been deduced from *saba*, "a host," (meaning the stars); commonly it means "an apostate from another "religion;" so was called Mubammed for having abandoned this very Sábéan religion, before him dominant in Arabia, to which religion, however, he granted protection in his Koran, associating it there with Judaism and Christianism. According to Maimonides (who died A. D. 1208), this religion was very ancient, and once pervaded nearly the whole world. It is said to have been founded by *Seth*, Adam's son (who is also called the *Egyptian Agathodémon*, master of *Hermes*), whose son was *Sa'bi'*. It

material world, and to the precepts of religious reason. but they say that the law of the prophet is

was propagated by Enoch (also Hermes). The most ancient books of this creed are reported to be written in the language which Adam and his sons spoke: the Arabians still show a book of Seth. The original religion of the Sabaians consisted in the veneration of the stars and of angels, and coincided in its principal notions with the ancient system of the Persians, as described in vol. I. Pursuant to Sheheristâni, the Sabaians were worshippers of *chapels* and of *images*. The bodies of the seven planets they called *chapels;* these they held to be inhabited by intelligences, by which they were animated in the same manner as our bodies are by souls. They observed the rising, setting, and motion of the stars, for the division of time, and, mixing superstitious notions and rites with their observations, made seals and talismans, and used incantations and particular prayers; they not only built chapels of different figures, but also formed images of different metals appropriated to each of the planets; by the mediation of the images they had access to the chapels; by means of the chapels to the intelligences or lords; and by aid of these to the supreme God, the Lord of lords. In this manner they held the planets to be inferior deities, mediators between man and the supreme God. According to the before-mentioned Maimonides, they acknowledged no deities except the stars, among which the sun was the greatest Abul faraj says that they firmly believed the unity of God.

Among the sects of this religion is that of the *Harbanists*, or *Harnanites:* these believe one God manifesting himself in different bodies, heavenly and terrestrial, his creatures; he committed the government of the inferior world to the first: these are the fathers, the elements the mothers, and the compound beings the children of both. After the period of 36,425 years, the universe perishes; nature is then renewed by a couple of each species of beings; thus centuries succeed each other, and there is not any other *resurrection*.

Sabaism must be distinguished as *ancient* and *modern*. The first, especially if so remote as it is said to be, can but have imparted, and the other owe, more than one notion, dogma, and rite to Judaism, Christianism, and Muhammedism, all which may be considered as divisions of one and the same Asiatic religion. Thus, in all the four reli-

to be conformable with reason, and every prophet who appears is not to be opposed to his predecessor, and not self-complacently to exalt his law: these are the *Yézdanían*. Some adopt the law of tradition, which others, with respect to literal meaning, reject as contrary to reason.

It is known that there are five great religions, viz.: that of the Hindus, Jews, Magians, Nazárean, and Muselmans. Each of these five proffer claims that their law is the true one, and set forth demonstrations for the confirmation of its truth.

Finally, at the conclusion of this book let it be said that, according to the statement of some excellent personages, every thing relating to religion and law has been exhibited in the work *Tabs'eret ul âvam*, "Rendering the Vulgar quick-sighted;" but at

gions, the same patriarchs and the same books, such as the Psalter, are venerated; the Sabaians have a sort of baptism, as the Christians; they believe that angels and intelligences, these movers of the universe, perform the same office which the Muhammedans ascribe to the patriarchs and prophets, they venerate with the latter the temple of Mecca; they perform, however, their principal pilgrimage to a place near Harran (the ancient Carræ) in Mesopotamia; they honor also the pyramids of Egypt, and say, that *Sa'bi'*, son of Seth or Enoch, is buried in the third. They turn their face in praying towards the arctic pole.

Several Oriental authors have treated of this religion. To those mentioned in this note, I shall only add *Abulfeda* and *Mohib eddin Abu 'l Valid Muhammed, ben Kamal eddin, al Hanefi*, mostly known under the surname of *Ben Shonah*, who collected most particular information about this religion.—(See Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 138 *et seq.*, 1st edit., and Herbelot).

present this is not before the eyes of the author; on that account its contents remain unknown to him. The author begs further to say that, after having greatly frequented the meetings of the followers of the five beforesaid religions, he wished and undertook to write this book, and whatever in this work treating of the religions of countries has been stated, concerning the creed of different sects, had been received from the tongue of the chiefs of those sects or from their books, and, as to the account of the persons belonging to any particular sect, the author wrote down the information which had been imparted to him by their adherents and sincere friends, in such a manner that no trace of partiality nor aversion might be perceived; in short, the writer of these pages performed nothing more than the office of a translator.

"The purport of a picture is, that it may remain after me,
"As I do not see my existence lasting."

Thus, by the aid of the generous King, was brought to a conclusion the printing of this work, entitled *Dabistán al Mazáheb*, "the school of sects," in the month of October of the year 1809, since the Messiah's being carried to heaven,[1] the prophet, upon

[1] The Muhammedans do not believe that the crucifixion of Jesus Christ did really take place, but that God transported his soul and body to heaven, whilst an unfortunate man exactly like the Messiah in appearance was, instead of him, crucified by the Jews.

whom be the blessing (of heaven), which corresponds to the sacred month of *Zí 'l Kâdah*, "the "penultimate month of the Muhammedans," of the year 1224 of the Hejira of Muhammed, upon whom be the most excellent blessings and veneration, as well as upon his family and companions. Glory to God for his benefits! at the final conclusion.

END OF THE DABISTAN.

EPILOGUE

OF

MOULAVI NAZER USHRUF,

Editor of the Persian text of the Dabistán, printed in Calcutta.[1]

In the name of the bountiful and merciful God.

After the praise of God, who is acquainted with things future and invisible, who painted the tables of existence of mankind, and in the Dabistán *exhibited* the truths of things by the information of names and by the representations of intellect, and put his mark thereupon; who bestowed on man, susceptible of guidance, the pittance of the verse:

"Whom we had taught wisdom from before us."[2]

He, the unity in whose being all the imaginable unities are lost, and the multitudes of contrary sects and religions are the exhibitions of his attributes.

QUATRAIN.

"Neighbor, companion, and fellow-traveller, all is he;
"In the habit of a beggar, and in the satin of a King, all is he;

[1] See Preliminary Discourse, vol. I. part iii. § 2.

[2] Koran, chap. XVIII. v. 64.

" He is in the concourse of divisions and concealed in the mansion of
" reunion;
" By God all is he; certainly, by God, all is he."

Prayers of the pious, salutations of the saints, sacrifice for the holy spirits of the prophets and apostles, *blessing and peace be upon our prophet and upon them!* who are the guides of the roads, those who walk before us on the ways, parts of the whole.

The meanest of the weak servants in the post of ignorance, taking upon himself to offer a noble present to the lordship of the country of God's creatures in the empire of positive truths, and of the throne-ornaments belonging to the district of subtilties, represents, that the power of the omniscient and bountiful God (be his majesty displayed and his mercy diffused upon all!), has gratified the species of mankind, according to the exigency of natural genius, and the propensity of mind; and according to the choice of a special rule and the assumption of a particular religious opinion *of each*, in such a manner that a troop, having been invested with the garment of lawful religion, and another people with the golden texture of a convenient doctrine, they may become the manifestations of the lights of his perfect power and glorious miracle, and he knew by immediate knowledge, that such various kinds and cameleon-like forms, by which the inscrutable essence of his majesty can be viewed by glimpses,

are means of possessing eternal beatitude, and obtaining the blessings of another world, inasmuch as the meanest of those who acquire the beauties of knowledge having arrived from the defile of ignorance and listlessness to the large expanse of the city of science and knowledge, may enjoy the advantages of concord, friendship, and society with each other.

In this manner, one day, when the discourse fell upon this subject in the service of the master of favour, the head of the sages of the age, the unequalled jewel of the multitude of the possessors of beneficence, the ornament of the council of experience and of success, the splendor of the assembly of the distinction of merit and of happiness, the man of exalted designs, knowing the enigmas of science and wisdom, and endowed with eminent virtues, William Bayley Saheb,[1] (may his prosperity be everlasting in the ways of celebrity), I expressed my sentiments as follows: That which embraces the different tenets and sects, demonstrating in what respects they are either agreeing or conflicting with each other, is an object not destitute of difficulty nor of pretension; but the book called *Dabistán*, is incomparable for the assemblage of various tenets, and of general and particular creeds. Direction was therefore given that, as to execute the trans-

[1] William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., now a director of the Hon. East India Company.—(See Preliminary Discourse, vol. I. part III. § 2.)

cription of such a book is, on account of the errors which may be committed, an object of hesitation and reflection, it should therefore be drawn in the form of print. As obedience to the order of a lord is praiseworthy, necessary, important, and not devoid of various manifest advantages, therefore was printed the beforesaid copy, which is replete with the fundamentals of each religion and sect, and a collection of the dogmas of all creeds and sects explicitly and distinctively, in order to diffuse the useful notes and disseminate the precious gems in such a manner, that the colleagues in study may derive from the reading of this work an abundant advantage, and a sufficient satisfaction. Thus, a multitude of copies in this country, which came under the view of the editor, contained numerous errors, alterations, and contradictions of vicious expressions; afterwards, with extreme care and pains to obtain the authentic copy which had come into my possession from the town of the King of the World (*Delhí*), the doubts and faults have been, as much as possible, discarded, and the editor carried it to a manifest correction. Besides, on account of different idioms and technical phrases of each sect, the understanding and interpretation of frequent expressions of this book were difficult without having recourse to dictionaries; on that account, and for the convenience of those who consider and the utility of those who investigate,

the editor, having inquired and examined as much as was possible, by means of the most esteemed books, such as dictionaries, interpretations, and commentaries of the learned of each sect, fixed the meaning *of difficult words* at the end of this book in some separate leaves, in such a manner that, without trouble and useless prolixity, the brides of those ideas may become manifest upon the exalted bridal seats of intelligence.[1] Moreover, for ranging the ~~the~~ vocables, the editor adopted the mode that under the first letter should be placed the chapter, and under the second letter the section, and he appended this vocabulary to the end of the book. He made also a list of errata, and concluded with an epilogue, in order that all those who reason and discuss upon these typical matters, may have the facility of understanding them. Thus, from God we expect grace and certain direction to righteousness and to favour.

[1] This is an allusion to the custom according to which, when the nuptials of distinguished persons are celebrated, the bride, in her most magnificent attire is exposed to the multitude upon an elevated seat, or in a palanquin carried through the streets.

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ERRATA.

Volume I. page 41, note 1, line 8, *instead of* Venus *read* Mercury.
192, l. 2 . . . . . Khusran *r.* Khusro.
214, n. 1, l. 1, ... Ronzat *r.* Rouzat.
265, n. 1, l. 7 . . . . . Jesht *r.* Yesht.
ibidem, l. 10 . . . . . Kechvars *r.* Kishvars.
271, l. 19 . . . . . Ashtawazand *r.* Asta wa zand
306, n. 3, l. 1 . . . . . p. 236 *r.* 246.
Volume II. page 27, l. 10 . . . . . Mudgha *r.* Mugdha.
28, l. 16 . . . . . Naryaan *r.* Narayana.
94, n. 3, l. 8 . . . . . तत्रोवस्था *r.* तत्रावस्था
96, l. 2 . . . . . Inani *r.* Jnani.
119, n. 4, l. 1 . . . . . Purnsha *r.* Purusha.
124, l. 12 . . . . . abhasayoga *r.* abhyasayoga.
127, n. 1, l. 1 . . . . . श्लोक *r.* श्लोक
173, note 2, referring to Abu Ali's work, ought to be note 3, and n. 3, referring to Jafer Kakuyah, ought to be n. 2.
184, l. 17 . . . . . tutasi *r.* tulasi.
204, n. 4, l. 1 . . . . . इन्दिरा *r.* इन्दिरो
215, l. 25 is transposed and should be l. 24.
217, n. 2, last line . . . . . प्रह *r.* ग्रह
220, l. 11 . . . . . Ibe *r.* Iber.
268, l. 11 . . . . . trut *r.* truth.
280, n. l. 2 . . . . . Sigar *r.* Siyar.
Volume III. page 42, l. 8 . . . . . after Omar Shaikh, a comma.
47, l. 16 . . . . . Athedad *r.* Alahdad.
96, n. l. 2 . . . . . 1 *r.* 2.
103, l. 4 . . . . . Run fa yakun, *r.* Kunfaya-Kun.
211, l. 25 . . . . . Kamzan *r.* Kamran.
238, l. 10 . . . . . *at the word* things—*reference to note* 1.
l. 11 . . . . . *instead of reference* 1 *read* 2.
l. 14 . . . . . 2 — 3.
l. 17 . . . . . 3 — 4.
note l. 1 . . . . . *left blank, ought to be* See pp. 223, 230, 233.
l. 2 . . . . . *instead of* 1 *read* 2.
l. 3 . . . . . 2 — 3.
l. 4 . . . . . 3 — 4.
ibid. . . . . . مطلقه *r.* مطلق.
265 note l. 9 . . . . . Futuhat *r.* Favatah.
l. 10 . . . . . 334 *r.* 234.
284 l. 8 . . . . . Fatuhal *r.* Favatah.

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